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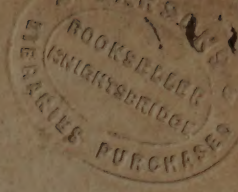

1678

ANECDOTES

OF THE

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

OF

LONDON

FROM THE ROMAN INVASION TO THE YEAR 1700;

INCLUDING

The Origin of British Society, Customs and Manners,
With a general Sketch of the State of Religion, Superstition, Dresses,
and Amusements of the Citizens of London, during that Period.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

Illustrations of the Changes in our Language, Literary Customs,
and gradual Improvement in Style and Versification,
and various Particulars concerning Public and Private Libraries.

ILLUSTRATED BY EIGHTEEN ENGRAVINGS.

By JAMES PELLER MALCOLM, F. A. S.

AUTHOR OF "LONDINIUM REDIVIVUM;" AND OF
"ANECDOTES OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF LONDON
DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY," &c.

THE SECOND EDITION.

VOLUME III.

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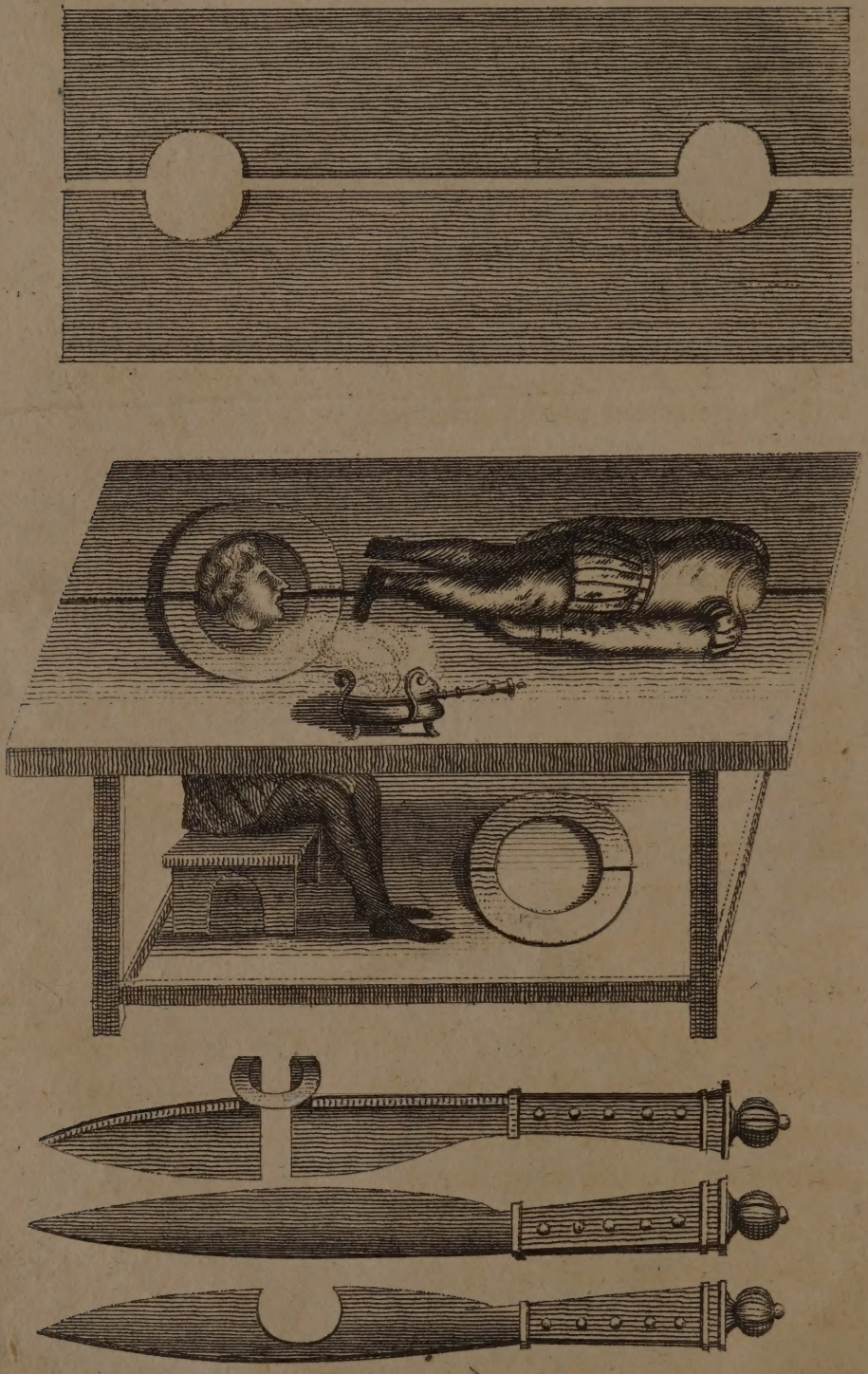


JUGGLER'S *decollation of* JOHN BAPTIST.

Published by Longman & Co 1810.

CHAP. I.

AMUSEMENTS.

Dull and monotonous would the circle of existence have been, had not the Divinity decreed moments when the mind, fatigued with thought, seeks for relaxation in frivolity. It is of little importance what mode is adopted to employ those moments, provided every immoral and dangerous pursuit is avoided. Many of the Amusements of the aborigines of England would now be considered by their descendants as fatiguing and almost impossible, particularly those which required strength and energy in the limbs, and long privations of rest. The natural suggestions of the human mind, unassisted by reflection and contrivance, produced dancing: every fortunate event occurring to individuals prompted the joyous leap, the contagious motion. Families thus infected introduced method, to avoid collision; and as some one or other excelled in the gracefulness or agility of their movements, imitation soon

effected improvement. Singing originated from the same source; and the utterance of pleasing sounds being co-eval with the active expression of pleasure, the step unavoidably regulated the voice, and the voice the step. Instrumental assistance might have been the consequence of accident: any substance producing a heavy deep sound, when struck, marked pauses in the leap; but the pipe resulted from some exertion of the ideas. Judging from the circumstances already mentioned, and the modes of dancing, accompanied by rude drums and flutes in Savage nations at present, we cannot doubt our countrymen and women had their dances as early as they were aggregated.

If the generality of the Celtic nations were in the habit of indulging upon all great occasions in the pleasures of eating and drinking, as it is asserted they were, their feasts must have often ended in dancing, if not in the contentions of intoxication. At a later period, refinement might introduce bards, who sung or recited the favourite exploits of their wars: whether they had dances appropriated to martial purposes, is doubtful at least, though probable: a rude harp is, however, assigned them by antient authors.

The instinctive sports of infancy suggested their subsequent usefulness, in providing food, and resisting their enemies. All young animals

are in the habit of springing upon each other, struggling together, and chasing one another; and in this respect the youth of the human species closely resemble them—wrestling, leaping, and running, being universally the first attempts at infantile amusement; to those are added throwing of stones, swimming, &c. Emulation may be assigned as a sufficient reason for improvement in these exercises; and as youth were not originally taken from them for the purposes of modern times, they were pursued till uncommon address and excellence were attained, and each branch became a part of the system of offensive and defensive war, at the period of manhood. Hunting cannot be considered altogether as an amusement, as it was a necessary labour in the then state of society. Several other methods may have existed to prolong the hours of relaxation, but they are totally unknown to us at present. We shall, therefore, proceed to the time when the Romans introduced their customs in this particular.

The policy of these people was as conspicuous and eminent as their courage; hence we may suppose those athletic exercises, which were practised by themselves on the Continent, tending to make the youth fearless and skilful in combat, were in some degree suppressed in the earlier stages of their residence here, for very obvious reasons. After some time elapsed, we find that

amphitheatres were erected, though not of the best materials, where the soldiers and the natives were entertained in miniature with wrestling and all the other sports of the Circus: and as some of those were practised by slaves, it is not improbable captive Britons sometimes glutted the savage vengeance of the invaders by cutting one another to pieces before them. Many of the little games of chance used by the Romans, that of *latrunculi*, similar to the modern chess, the *ludus talorum*, and the *ludus tesserarum*, or dice, we still persevere in admiring, the latter even to our destruction. The ball served for the foundation of several kinds of diversion, and nearly as we practise it at present; and beating the hoop set with rings amused many a muscular Roman, though with us it has descended to youth alone. Pitching of quoits is also another of the arts we have derived from them.

The theatrical representations of Rome were imitated in her colonies, if not immediately after their conquest, yet certainly when the government of them became settled and secure; but as they do not appear to have been naturalized, they cannot be considered as belonging to the Britons. With respect to the instruments of music, the Romans introduced to us the Tubæ, the Cornua, the Buccinæ, and the Litui, each of which were made of brass, and resembled our trumpet,

trumpet, the bugle or French horn, and the hautboy or pipe.

As the unhappy residents of this island enjoyed very short intervals indeed of the "piping time of peace," amusements, which had not a tendency to promote the operations of war, must have been much neglected, except upon particular occasions. Whatever methods were in use on the arrival of the Saxons to exhilarate the individual or public mind, ceased, and certainly did not revive till they were destined to be rivalled or superseded by those of the new oppressors, which we are now to trace to the best of our ability. A warlike people naturally divided them into three classes, the military, the chace, and domestic. In the first instance, they did not differ greatly from ourselves, as the arts of swimming, riding, boxing, leaping, running, and wrestling, were equally necessary for the soldiery of both nations, and were indeed common throughout all parts of the world. Dancing, in their particular case, seems to have been included in the military useful amusements: antient illuminations of MSS. convince us, that persons armed danced with swords and shields, with which they performed such exercises as were difficult, and perhaps not perfectly necessary in battle. Tacitus also describes noble youths as having danced naked amidst the projecting points of swords and spears, with so much

much skill and grace as to excite equal astonishment and admiration. These may be considered as the superior accomplishments of the better classes, who possibly did not at any time indulge in the more effeminate movements similar to those since invented. As the daughter of Herodias danced before the King a very long time before that now under consideration, it would be extremely ungallant indeed to suppose the females of this branch of our ancestry did not approach her excellence, particularly as we are convinced musicians of the Saxons danced while they sounded their instruments; and that even bears were taught that fascinating amusement, as has been fully proved by Mr. Strutt in his Sports and Pastimes of these people.

The art of riding well naturally produced horse-races; and the swiftness and conduct of that noble animal was eminently useful both in battle and the chace. When the vindictive passions of the chiefs were at rest, their ambition was directed to excellence in hunting: consequently, the swiftest and most dangerous animals were selected for pursuit through the rough half uncultivated country; and he secured the public applause who followed the dogs and the flying beast with least regard to the chasms and precipices which lay in his way, and tore himself through the underwood with the greatest indifference to

the

the wounds the branches inflicted. The kings and princes, the nobles and chiefs, of this hardy race were early initiated in the mysteries of the chace as an essential part of their education, and consequently became adepts in hunting. Hawking, an appendage to this pursuit, but infinitely inferior to it in enterprize and exertion, was probably brought into England by the Saxons, though the former diversion was as familiar to our countrymen as to their oppressors.

The amusements of the domestic circle must have been in some degree similar to those of the Romans. Whether the Saxons introduced the two species of dice mentioned as used by them, or found them here, it is certain they played deep with them, as did the antient Germans. Singing and conviviality were well known in the Northern nations; and they doubtless had many ridiculous sports, which might well be collected in those of their present descendants, were it necessary. Itinerant poets, musicians, and buffoons, often contributed their aid, as we find by Bede the historian.

It would be almost an impossibility to collect any thing like a *satisfactory* account of the common amusements of the invading Normans and their immediate successors; but it will not be difficult to demonstrate, that the games of chess and dice found general encouragement amongst them,

them, when the usual gymnastic exercises were prevented by the weather or night. It is well known, they were adepts in shooting the arrow, racing, leaping, throwing stones, baiting bulls and boars, horse-racing, and even cock-fighting, exclusive of their excellence in hawking and hunting. The lowest gradation of amusement, calculated to promote military purposes, is described by Fitz Stephen, and was of a ludicrous and rather dangerous nature. A post was set upright in the Thames, on which a shield had been firmly fastened: a boat with a platform on the bow, which supported a young man armed with a spear, was rowed with great violence towards the post; when arrived within reach, the man strained every muscle to break his weapon against the shield, that he might thus gain the prize, and avoid a severe ducking, the inevitable consequence of failure. Every precaution was used to prevent drowning on these occasions, and Fitz Stephen says their immersion caused infinite merriment to the spectators.

The Quintain, mentioned by Stowe, had its origin from a whimsical idea; and those who practised with it were compelled to exert no trifling degree of agility to avoid the heavy blows it inflicted. In this instance, a strong post was placed erect in the ground, on which a piece of wood turned by means of a spindle; at one extremity

tremity a bag of sand was suspended, and the other presented a surface sufficiently broad to make it practicable to strike it with a spear when on full gallop on horseback; the pressure from the spear caused an instantaneous whirl of the wood, which was increased by the weight of the sand, and that saluted the back of the horseman in no very gentle manner, if the speed of his courser happened to be less than that of the quintain.

The Tournament was the most important, the most dignified and expensive, of all entertainments; and for that reason confined to princes, barons, and knights, as even the esquires were forbid to enter the lists at them. A modern can barely imagine the interest and splendour of these martial exhibitions, which in many respects equalled, and in some excelled, those of the Roman circus. The area of the tournament was the theatre on which emperors, kings, and their nobles of every rank who were knights, contended for the prize due to superior skill in arms; and when we consider, that the spectators, both male and female, were composed of all that was powerful, honourable, and beautiful, from every part of Europe, we may readily conceive the magnificence of the scene, the polished armour, the dazzling display of rich silks, embroidered with gold and silver, and the jewellery of the ladies.

It is very probable that the idea of tournaments originated

originated from Rome; if so, the people of this country were not altogether indebted to the Normans for their knowledge on the subject, though it cannot be disputed they introduced the pomp, order, and regulations, which prevailed at the celebration after their arrival. Policy prevented the encouragement of tournaments, soon after the invasion; and they were far from frequent before the reign of Richard I., who granted licences for them, and exacted a duty from each of the combatants. The time selected by monarchs for tournaments were usually upon their obtaining a victory, their marriage, or coronation; and on those occasions heralds were sent to the surrounding courts with general invitations to all true knights. A spacious plain was selected and inclosed by towers and curtains, ornamented with such architectural designs as were the style of the period; within those, and facing the arena, were seats of various elevations and decorations suited to the personages intended to occupy them, composed of sovereigns, princes, their consorts, lords, ladies, knights, judges of the combats, heralds, and musicians. Those knights who proposed to enter the lists, suspended their shields for some days previous to the tournament in the cloister of a monastery situated near the scene of action, where it was customary for knights and ladies to examine them: if one of the latter touched a shield,

shield, it was considered as an accusation of the proprietor, who was immediately brought to trial, and if found guilty of any offence against the laws of chivalry, expulsion and infamy to the party was the immediate consequence.

On the appointed day, the whole assembly took their seats to the sound of musick, and in due time the various combatants entered the lists, conducted each by the lady in whose honour he intended to fight. The contest then commenced, and was conducted precisely according to the mode of warfare in use at the time, on horseback, on foot, knight to knight, or in parties, with daggers, swords, lances, battle-axes, &c. &c. As the tournament generally continued for some days, the judges, formed of the most experienced knights, awarded the prizes at the close of each day's exhibition, which were delivered to the victors by the most fascinating ladies, of the highest rank; other ladies, of the presiding sovereign's court, met them on their triumphant procession to the palace, disencumbered their limbs of their armour, and finally, dressed in rich robes, they were seated at table, the objects of universal applause and admiration, while poets and minstrels composed and sung in their praise, and their deeds were registered.

One of the methods contrived to amuse the monarch

monarch and his court seems to have been the device of some sage politician, who, originally deceiving his king by presenting him with a supposed fool to bear every indignity of language, procured in reality a shrewd fellow, whose inclination and abilities rendered him competent to censure and ridicule all the vices and follies around him with impunity. Since the custom of retaining a person bearing the outward appearance of idiotism has been discontinued in the court of England, we are at a loss to conjecture how it could have prevailed from the time of William of Normandy till that of Charles I. The manners of the higher ranks were certainly very different from their present polished state, as we with difficulty bear the absurdities of the clown in a pantomime. A modern author has enumerated no less than nine species of fools, which he terms the general domestic fool, the clown, the female fool, the city or corporation fool, tavern fools, the fool of the antient theatrical mysteries, the fool in dumb shows at fairs and inns, the fool in the Whitsun ales, and the mountebank's fool or Merry Andrew. It requires but little discernment to conjecture the nature of the employment of the above contemptible personages; if they were capable of saying good things in a state of domestication, their characters were doubly detestable in thus

perverting

perverting their natural endowments; if any were really idiots, the contempt must be transferred to their retainers.

He that would see and hear an epitome of all descriptions of fools, the representatives of a long race, should visit Bartholomew fair. An examination of the qualities of such beings, disguised with dirty paint and fantastical clothing, makes one ashamed of belonging to the same species; and even if we take Shakspeare's fools into consideration, and admit some preceding real ones equalled those he has pourtrayed in wit and impudence, we cannot but admire the patience of our ancestors, in enduring their impertinence without breaking their bones, or discharging them after the first essay. It may have the appearance of spleen and ill-nature, but I cannot resist remarking, that all our modern pantomimes represent their fools as thieves and cheats in the most captivating manner; by which means the lower classes receive hints, and are taught to think theft entertaining and whimsical, rather than wicked and deserving of punishment; besides, at least one half of their employment on the stage consists in tormenting and injuring age and decrepitude.

We owe the invention of Cards to the French, which are said to have been contrived for the amusement of Charles VI. by a painter named Jaquemin

Jaquemin Gringonneur, who resided in Paris. It appears from St. Foix, that these cards were not only painted with the necessary devices and ornaments, but gilt, and probably strongly resembled the illuminations on vellum done about the same period, the close of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century. Their introduction here was a natural consequence of our imitation of all Gallic customs and fashions, though some time must have elapsed before their use became general. Dr. Henry quotes the statutes 3 Ed. IV. c. 4. to prove that the card-makers of England had obtained an act of Parliament in 1463 to prohibit the importation of playing cards. The present absurd figures stamped on cards seem to be most faithful and accurate representations of the elegant original ornaments of the reign of Henry VIII. It is singular that, amidst our improvements, cards should have been so completely neglected; surely the same kind of human figures might be made more like Nature, without deviating from the costume.

We will now examine into the nature of the amusements invented for the relaxation of youth during the intervals allowed in their studies, as they were practised in the reign of Henry VIII., and without doubt long before. Some of these are slightly named by Sir Thomas Elyot in his "Governour" in the following words — "Touch-

ing

ing such exercises as may be used within the house, or in the shadow (as is the old manner of speaking), as deambulations or moderate walkings; labouring with poises made of lead, or rather metal, called in Latin *alteres;* lifting and throwing the heavy stone or bar; playing at tennis; and divers semblable exercises." In another part of the same work, the author describes several of the games then in use, and the manner of using them. "There be divers manners of wrestling; but the best, as well for health of body as for exercise of strength is, when laying mutually their hands one over another's neck, with the other hand they hold fast each other by the arms, and, clasping their legs together, they enforce themselves with strength and agility to throw down each other."

Races or running he commends greatly, whence we may conclude it was a favourite pursuit at that period. Of swimming, he observes, "It is right profitable in extreme danger of wars; but because there seemeth to be some peril in the learning thereof, and also it hath not been of long time much used, specially among noblemen, perchance some readers will little esteem it." Riding seems to have been much practised and admired, and it is evident that some of the modern leaps on and off of horses were known to our ancestors, and exercised perhaps nearly to the same degree

of

of perfection as we see them at present by the professional riders of the Circus and Amphitheatre. Fencing, and the use of the battle axe, were then taught.

Dancing was a very favourite amusement with the worthy Elyot, who took great pains to prove St. Augustine merely meant to reprove the excesses of the exercise, and by no means to abolish it; he traces its history with great ability, and, after describing many ancient modes of dancing, adds, "In stead of these, we have now base dances, bargenettes, pauyons, turgyons, and rounds. And as for the special names, they were taken as they be now, either of the names of the first inventors, or of the measure and number that they do contain; or of the first words of the ditty, which the song comprehendeth, whereof the dance was made. In every of the said dances, there was a concinnity of moving the foot and body, expressing some pleasant or profitable effects or motions of the mind." Proceeding, Sir Thomas contrives to extract a moral from every step in dancing, which, we learn from him, was invariably commenced in his days by a low reverence from the whole party, with a long interval between it and the first step.

Dice he deprecates most feelingly—"O why should that be called a play which is compact of malice and robbery! Undoubtedly they that write

write of the first invention of things have good cause to suppose Lucifer, prince of devils, to be the first inventor of dice-playing, and hell the place where it was founden, although some do write that it was first invented by Attalus." Let who may be the inventor of dice, the evil consequences of their use were not in the least doubtful. "I suppose there is not a more plain figure of idleness than playing at dice," says Sir Thomas. "For, besides that therein there is no manner of exercise of the body or mind, they which play thereat must seem to have no portion of wit or cunning if they will be called fair players; or, in some company, avoid the stab of a dagger, if they be taken with any crafty conveyance."—"How many gentlemen, how many merchants, have in this damnable pastime consumed their substance, as well by their own labours as by their parents, with great study and painful travail in a long time acquired, and finished their lives in debt and penury! How many goodly and bold yeomen hath it brought unto theft, whereby they have prevented the course of nature, and died by the order of the laws miserably." Cards and chess, more innocent recreations, were in great estimation.

Archery was much practised, and is commended by Elyot, as it created exercise in the lower limbs "by going a little distance a measurable pace: at rovers or pricks, it is at his pleasure that shoot-

eth how fast or softly he listeth to go, and yet is the praise of the shooter neither more nor less; for as far or nigh the mark is his arrow when he goeth softly as when he runneth."

Mr. Douce, with equal assiduity and success, illustrated Shallow's mention of Sir Dagonet in Arthur's show in Shakspeare's play of King Henry IV. part 2.; and has by this means enabled me to add another item to the preceding observations. The gentleman just mentioned notices a work published in 1682, called "A remembrance of the worthy show and shooting, by the Duke of Shoreditch, and his associates the worshipful citizens of London, upon Tuesday the 17th of September, 1583." According to this book, Henry VIII., once at least, attended a shooting match with the long bow, at Mile-End, when Prince Arthur and his knights were contending for a prize: he afterwards made matches at Windsor, where, it is probable, one of his guard, named Barlo, excelled most of his antagonists. On some particular occasion, the King said to him, "Win thou all, and thou shalt be duke over all archers." Barlo succeeded; and Henry, performing his promise, termed him Duke of Shoreditch, the place where the man resided. A successor of the Duke's established a show on the day already referred to, which was exhibited in Smithfield and other parts of the environs with considerable magnificence, when

when it is believed that firing as well as shooting at marks prevailed.

Many other authors mention the custom of shooting with the bow and arrow with great complacency and approbation; indeed, they seem to have thought a facility in this art in some degree necessary to preserve the civil liberties of the citizens of London. I shall not notice it, in this instance, as part of the national system of defence, but merely as an useful amusement and means of manly exertion. The fourth volume of my history of London contains an engraving of Finsbury fields in its antient state, abounding with buts for targets, from which an idea may be formed of still more remote periods. Yew, elm, and hazel, were used for making the bow, and many statutes have been enacted to provide for the importation of the first description of wood.

A special commission was issued by Charles I. in 1632, directed to the Lord Mayor, which required an immediate survey of all the grounds within two miles of London, "where the archers were time out of mind allowed to shoot;" and if the person appointed found any encroachments on them "by reason of any ditching, hedges, or inclosures, to reduce such closes or fields to their former state." The same monarch had issued a commission early in his reign to enforce the statute of archery of 33 Henry VIII.; but he revoked

it by proclamation in 1633, on account of many exactions committed by those entrusted with the execution of the commission. The use of musquetry soon after superseded the bow, and some faint and abortive attempts made at different times since have only served to remind us of our ancestor's excellence in the art of shooting with arrows.

Tennis, Sir Thomas Elyot considered hurtful, unless seldom played, and then but for a short time. As two persons were employed in this game, neither of them were capable of limiting the exercise, he that struck the ball with violence compelled his antagonist to exert equal force in returning it to him. " If it trail fast on the ground, and he intendeth to stop; or if it rebound a great distance from him, and he would eftsones return it, he cannot then keep any measure in swiftness of motion. Some men would say that in mediocrity, which I have so much praised in shooting, why should not bowling, clayshe pins (nine pins), and coyting (quoits), be as much commended. Verily, as for two, the last be to be utterly abjected of all noble men; in likwise football, wherein is nothing but beastly fury, and extreme violence, whereof proceedeth hurt, and consequently rancour and malice do remain with them that be wounded; wherefore it is to be put in perpetual silence."

Amongst

Amongst the amusements offered to the French ambassadors at the court of Henry VIII. at Greenwich were contests on foot between gentlemen in superb armour, and others mounted on beautiful and spirited horses, which was followed by an interlude pronounced in Latin, the actors in rich dresses. "This being ended," says the author of the Life of Wolsey, "there came a great company of ladies and gentlemen, the chiefest beauties in the realm of England, being as richly attired as cost could make, or art devise, to set forth their gestures, proportions, or beauties, that they seemed to the beholder rather like celestial angels than terrestrial creatures, and in my judgement worthy of admiration, with whom the gentlemen of France danced and masked; every man chusing his lady as his fancy served: that done, and the maskers departed, came in another masque of ladies and gentlewomen, so richly attired as I cannot express; these ladies maskers tooke each of them one of the Frenchmen to dance; and here note, that these noblewomen spoke all of them good French, which delighted them much to hear the ladies speak to them in their own language. Thus triumphantly did they spend the whole night from five of the clock at the night unto two or three of the clock in the morning; at which time the gallants drew all to their lodgings to take their rest."

An odd way of amusing themselves and the spectators of their follies was practised by persons who styled themselves *Mummers*. An act of the 3d of Henry VIII., cap. 9, partly explains their method of proceeding — "For as much as lately within this realm divers persons have disguised and apparelled themselves and covered themselves with visors or other things, in such manner as they should not be known; and divers of them in a company together, naming themselves Mummers, have come to the dwelling place of divers men of honour, and substantial persons, and so departed unknown; whereupon murders, felony, rape, and other great hurts and inconveniences have afore time grown, and hereafter be like to come by, if the said disorder should continue not reformed."

The origin of this amusement might have been innocent; possibly persons may have masked and habited themselves, in various characters, to excite the surprize of their friends, whom they left in ignorance to enjoy their observations unsuspected; but that the custom of mumming should have been permitted to the extent of requiring an act of the Legislature for its suppression, was strange neglect in the police.

This act levied a fine and three months imprisonment on future offenders, and decreed a penalty of 22*s*. for the sale of a single mask. It

is

is extremely probable, that the Mummer was a product of Italy; and, were we inclined to penetrate into past ages, we might possibly discover him on the Roman stage, where the actors invariably appeared in distorted masks, though perhaps otherwise habited in the character they represented.

The Jugglers were much encouraged at this period; and old as their tricks were, they still had it in their power to attract the attention of the wary, who admired their ingenuity, though they knew their agents; and of the ignorant they have at all times assembled legions.

"Howbeit," says Reginald Scot, Esquire, 1584, "if these things be done for mirth and recreation, and not to the hurt of our neighbour, nor to the abusing or prophaning of God's name, in mine opinion they are neither impious nor altogether unlawful; though herein or hereby a natural thing be made to seem unnatural." Such he considers Legerdemain, or the art of appearing to convey away or deliver to another that which they retain in their own hands; seeming to eat a knife, which, in fact, they drop into their bosom; the thrusting a knife through the head of a pullet, and restoring it to life by the repetition of words; the trick now common of burning a card, and bringing the same apparently out of the pocket of a spectator.

"What

"What wonde ng and admiration was there at Brandon the Jugler! who painted on the wall the picture of a dove, and, seeing a pigeon sitting on the top of a house, said to the King (either Edward VI. or Henry VIII., as Elizabeth was then on the throne), "So now your Grace shall see what a jugler can do, if he be his craftsmaster;' and then pricked the picture with a knife so hard and so often, and with so effectual words, as the pigeon fell down from the top of the house stark dead. I need not write any further circumstance to shew how the matter was taken; what wondering was thereat, how he was prohibited to use that feat any further, least he should employ it in any other kind of murder; as though he, whose picture soever he had pricked, must needs have died, and so the life of all men, in the hands of a jugler: as is now supposed to be in the hands and wills of witches. This story is, untill the day of the writing hereof, in fresh remembrance, and of the most part believed as canonical, as are all the fables of witches."

This well-informed gentleman, then, proceeds to show his countrymen, that a slight exercise of their sagacity would remove all the supernatural part of the business, which was thus effected: the poor pigeon that fell stupified or dead had previously received from the hands of the juggler or an agent a portion of *nux vomica*, or some other drug,

drug, the operations of which would occupy a certain space of time; thus prepared and released, the bird naturally flew to the next place, where it could obtain rest, and remaining there, through the progress of poison, the artful exhibitor stabbed the picture, and muttered in confidence, well knowing the fate of his victim. "If this or the like feat should be done by an old woman, every body would cry out for fire and faggot to burn the witch."

This author mentions two persons, named Jannes and Jambres, as very expert and ready a puzzling and astonishing their spectators; and from him we also learn, that equivocation was in use as a species of diversion: thus the watermen of the Thames were in the habit of shewing the church of Stone in Kent to the persons in their boats, saying, it was as *light* at midnight as at noon day.

"Whereupon," says Mr. S., "some credulous person is made believe, and will not stick to affirm and swear, that in the same church is such continual light, that any man may see to read there at all times of the night without a candle."

The following list of wonders performed by jugglers form the heads of Master Scott's chapters, under the article *Hartumim;* and is given to furnish a comparison with those of the present day.

Of

Of the ball, and the manner of legerdemain therewith; also, notable feats with one or divers balls; to make a little ball swell in your hand till it be very great; to consume, or rather to convey, one or more balls into nothing; how to rap a wag upon the knuckles; of conveyance of money; to convey money out of one of your hands into the other by legerdemain; to convert money into counters, or counters into money; to put one tester into one hand, and another into the other hand, and with words to bring them together; to put one tester into a stranger's hand, and another into your own, and to convey both into the stranger's hand with words; to throw a piece of money away, and to find it again where you list; with words to make a groat or tester to leap out of a pot, or to run along upon a table; to make a groat or a tester to sink through a table, and to vanish out of a handkerchief very strangely; a notable trick to transform a counter to a groat; an excellent feat to make a two-penny piece lie plain in the palm of your hand, and to be passed from thence when you list; to convey a tester out of one's hand that holdeth it fast; to throw a piece of money into a deep pond, and to fetch it again from whence you list; to convey one shilling, being in one hand, into another, holding your hands abroad like a rood; to transform

form any one small thing into any other form by folding of paper.

The tricks with cards are so well known that a repetition of them is unnecessary. How to knit a hard knot upon a handkerchief, and to undo the same with words; to pull three bead-stones from off a cord, while you hold fast the ends thereof without removing of your hand; to make a shoal of goslings draw a timber log; to make a pot standing fast on the cupboard to fall down thence by virtue of words; to make one dance naked; to transform the colour of one's cap or hat; how to convey with words or charms the corn contained in one box into another; to convert wheat into flour with words; to burn a thread, and to make it whole again with the ashes thereof; to cut a lace asunder in the midst, and to make it whole again; how to pull laces innumerable out of your mouth, of what colour or length you list, and never any thing seen to be therein; how to make a book, wherein you shall shew every leaf therein to be white, black, blue, red, yellow, green, &c.; to eat a knife, and to fetch it out of any other place; to thrust a bodkin into your head without hurt; to thrust a bodkin through your tongue, and a knife through your arm; to thrust a piece of lead into one eye, and to drive it about with a stick between the skin and flesh of the forehead until it be brought to the other,

other eye, and there thrust out; to cut half your nose asunder, and to heal it again presently without any salve; to put a ring through your cheek; to cut off one's head, and to lay it in a platter, which the jugglers call the decollation of John Baptist.

A curious engraving accompanies this feat, which I beg leave to present a copy of, that will explain it to the reader without description.

The same plate contains, besides, three representations of knifes used in the reign of Elizabeth for cutting noses, arms, &c.: the plain one is that used for shew; the others perform the trick by means of the joint in one and the semicircle in the other.

To thrust a dagger or bodkin in your guts very strangely, and to recover immediately; to draw a cord through your nose, mouth, or hand, so sensible as is wonderful to see, &c. &c.

Fearful that himself should be supposed to deal with the devil in discovering the methods by which jugglers performed all the preceding amusing feats, Mr. Scot gravely recommended his readers to visit John Cantares, a Frenchman, who resided in St. Martin's, "in conversation an honest man, and he will shew as much and as strange actions as these, who getteth not his living hereby, but laboureth for the same with the sweat of his brow, and nevertheless hath the best

hand

hand and conveyance of any man that liveth this day."

The '*Nosce Teipsum*' of John Davys, published in 1602, leads us to suppose, that music was a favourite amusement with Queen Elizabeth, and that she excelled on different instruments; concluding several complimentary stanzas, he adds:

"Her harmonies are sweet, and full of skill,
When on the bodie's instruments she plays;
But the proportions of the *wit* and *will*,
Those sweet accords are even the angel's lays.
These tunes of *Reason* are *Amphion's* lyre,
Wherewith he did the *Theban* city found;
These are the notes wherewith the heavenly choir
The praise of Him who spreads the heaven's doth sound."

James I. seems to have wished to render his subjects contented and happy, if we may rely upon his Book of Sports as a proof of it.

Returning from Scotland in 1618, he observed, that certain persons of Lancashire, whom he called Papists, Puritans, and precise people, had interfered in prohibiting such "lawful recreations and honest exercises upon Sundays and other holidays after the afternoon sermon or service," as the peasantry had been accustomed to indulge in; he therefore issued a declaration, setting forth, "that this

this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people from using such exercises as may make their bodies more able for war, when we or our successors shall have occasion to use them; and in place thereof sets up filthy tiplings and drunkenness, and breeds a number of idle and discontented speeches in their ale-houses: for when shall the common people have leave to exercise, if not upon the Sundays and holidays, seeing they must apply their labour, and win their living, in all working days?"

Acting upon this principle, the King commanded that no recreations should be denied to his subjects which did not militate against the laws and the canons of the church.

"And as for our good people's lawful recreation," continues the Monarch, "our pleasure likewise is, that after the end of divine service our good people may not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged, from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation; nor from having of May games, Whitson ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting up of Maypoles, and other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time without impediment or neglect of divine service; and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according

to

to their old custom. But withall, we do here account still as prohibited all unlawful games to be used upon Sunday only, as bear and bull baiting, interludes, and, at all times in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited, bowling."

Charles I., perfectly coinciding in his father's ideas, confirmed the above proclamation in the ninth year of his reign, strictly forbidding all the public authorities to interfere with or prevent the sports mentioned, or the feasts of the Church called Wakes.

The following passage, from a small book called "the Court of King James," is explanatory of the amusements of the time: "Sir Thomas Monson was a great lover of musick, and had as good as England had, especially for voices, and was at infinite charge in breeding some in Italy."

A servant of his, named Symon, "was an excellent musician, and did sing delicately; but was a more general musician than ever the world had: he had a cætro of an immense length and bigness: with this, being his tabor-stick, his palm of his hand his tabor, and his mouth his pipe, he would so imitate a tabor and pipe, as if it had been so indeed; to this musick would Mrs. Turner, the young ladies, and some of the gig, dance ever after supper; the old lady, who loved that musick as well as her daughters, would sit and laugh: she could scarce sit for laughing."

The

The same work, which was published at a very suspicious time for veracity, represents James I. as entertained in a way that would make a man of sense blush: The Monarch, it is said, would leave his dining or supping room to witness the pastimes and fooleries performed by Sir Edward Zouch, Sir George Goring, and Sir John Finit; the first sung indecent songs, and related tales of the same description; the former of which were written by Finit, who procured fiddlers as an accompanyment to Zouch; "and Goring was master of the game for fooleries: sometimes presenting David Droman and Archee Armstrong the King's fool on the back of the other fools, to tilt one at another, till they fell together by the ears; sometimes antick dances: but Sir John Millisent, who was never known before, was commended for notable fooling, and so he was the best extempore fool of them all."

According to Burton, some of the amusements of our citizens, and their ladies particularly, were derived from monkeys and diminutive breeds of dogs; and those of winter arose from cards, tables, and dice, shovelboard, chess, the philosophers game, small trunks, shuttlecock, billiards, musick, masks, singing, dancing, ulegames, frolicks, jests, riddles, catches, purposes, questions and commands, merry tales of knights errant, queens, lovers, lords, ladies, giants, dwarfs, thieves, cheaters,

ers, witches, fairies, goblins, friars, &c.; whether it is quite correct to include the general avidity for hearing the news of the day amongst its amusements may be doubted, as much depends upon the nature of it; that it was eagerly communicated and enquired for, we have this author's testimony.

"Some men's whole delight is to take tobacco, and drink all day long in a tavern or ale-house, to discourse, sing, jest, roar, talk of a cock and a bull over a pot, &c.; or when three or four good companions meet, tell old stories by the fire-side, or in the sun, as old folks usually do, *quæ aprici meminere senes,* remembering afresh and with pleasure antient matters and such like accidents which happened in their younger years."

It is curious to observe the temporising manners at the close of the Protectorate government: the writer who, in the Mercurius Politicus informs his readers "that *Charles Stuart,* having left Brussels, was about a week past at Calais," adds, "Yesterday, his *Excellency* the *Lord* General Monk and his officers were entertained at dinner at Mercer's chapel, in London, by the Company of Mercers. About twelve o'clock his Excellency arrived there, with his lady and son, and, being received by a committee of that Company appointed thereunto, was by them conducted into the chapel, where he took a turn or two, loud

musick and trumpets sounding all the while, and then was conducted up to the room where dinner was prepared in a very sumptuous manner, with several concerts of the best musick, that nothing might be wanting to express the good affections of that most eminent Company to so great a General.

"After dinner, for divertisement, there was a representation of a pastoral, and after many signal testimonies of respect and honour, which passed on both sides, his Excellency departed with much satisfaction."

A notice to the following purport was given in the London Gazette of August 22d, 1670:

"Whereas his Sacred Majesty hath been pleased, after the example of his Royal ancestors, to incorporate the musicians of England, for encouragement of that excellent science, and the said Corporation to have power over all that profess the same, and to allow and make free all such as they shall think fit. This is to give notice to all persons concerned in music, that the Corporation sits the Saturday in every week at their hall in Durham-yard in the Strand, in pursuance of the trust and authority to them committed by his most gracious Majesty; and that they have granted several deputations into several counties to execute the same."

Wrestling has been already mentioned as a favourite

vourite amusement with our forefathers; and, like all other pursuits, had its mutations of fashion. In the neighbourhood of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, there was a wrestling place before the reign of Henry VI., which demonstrates that it was practised to a considerable extent at one period.

But few instances, I believe, occur in our history of this exercise having been made the source of Royal recreations. In 1681, however, the King witnessed a wrestling match at Windsor, when the abbettors were the Monarch and the Duke of Albemarle: a meadow below the castle was the scene of action, and the match was composed of twelve men on each side; the King's party wore red waistcoats, and the Duke's blue; a ring or inclosure was formed, and a space in it admitted the Royal coach; the Queen and her ladies viewed the contest from the terrace, but the Duke mixed with the crowd. The activity displayed on this occasion excited great applause, and only one of the number offered foul play, which the Duke punished by tripping up his heels.

The victory was gained by the blues; and they thus procured their employer 200 guineas, the wager depending: the sum of 10*s.* each were given to the King's men, and 20*s.* to the victors.

"After which, the King's men challenged the Duke's at back-sword; in which exercise some

being unskilful, others were taken in to complete the number. This was performed with great skill and courage, but not attended with those barbarous circumstances which were usual with the Roman gladiators, who to shew the Emperor sport, sheathed their swords in one another's bowels; our most clement and gracious King abominating all acts of cruelty." The issue of this was only some broken pates, and the palm was again given to the blues.

"The King's men being heated, and unwilling that the Duke's should thus carry a victory, resolved to have another trial with them, and challenged them at foot-ball, which being accepted, the goals staked out, and the ball placed in the middle, the Duke held up an handkerchief over the ball, the letting fall of which was the signal to give the start, and the handkerchief a reward to him that got the first kick, which was one of the Duke's men, who (in all three exercises) behaved himself so singularly active, that his Majesty took particular notice of him, and gave him a guinea. And, notwithstanding fortune still appeared on the Duke's side, his Majesty seemed highly pleased with that day's divertisement."—*Loyal Protestant.*

In the following August, John Goodwin, master of the art of wrestling, and Mr. Brush, master of that of defence, exhibited the following feats

feats before the King at Windsor: Mr. D. Rea and Mr. Langley wrestled for 20 guineas, then ten others; after which, Goodwin had a trial of skill with Mr. Charles Monger his scholar, a match that particularly pleased the King; ten persons afterwards fought with swords, two of which used sharps, as they are called; and this, with the above instance, I take to be the first dawnings of the scenes I shall describe in the second part of this work, at Hockley in the Hole, &c.

Coleman's musick house, long known and frequented, with a large well planted garden, situated near Lamb's Conduit, was offered for sale in 1682, and probably was soon after demolished, as Ormond and other streets were built about that time.

Had the writer or writers of Poor Robin confined themselves to the usual bounds of decency, many little circumstances might have been collected from their work extremely useful to this. I must, however, acknowledge myself indebted for the information, that there was at that time much parade and jollity on May-day throughout London; the rich and gay visiting Hyde-Park in their best coaches and liveries, and the next class Gray's Inn walks; "but woe be to the hawthorn bushes that are full of blossoms! they are condemned, like a gentleman in a fray, to be rifled of their gay attire by every mechanic.

"The

"The play-houses in Moorfields, and the Bear-gardens on both sides of the water, are to be thronged with journeymen and apprentices; for whose entertainment they are providing all kinds of fooleries suitable to their capacities—lions, bears, bulls, dogs, apes, monkeys, baboons, and prize-players (the most ridiculous beasts of all), are this day exposed to the censure of every two-penny spectator, where he that is wounded is esteemed a bungler, and he that is not passeth for a cheat."

Fighting with the hands clenched is of such decided antiquity, that it would be folly to enlarge upon that mode of resenting real or supposed wrongs. *Refinement* afterwards converted it into an amusement, and gladiators beat each other to death for the entertainment of the Romans, who probably left us the art of boxing, though one of their least valuable legacies.

Vulgar disputes transmitted boxing through many an age; and now and then a brutal chief or feudal lord might be found to encourage sparring as a source of very peculiar pleasure: for instance, "Yesterday, a match of boxing was performed before his Grace the Duke of Albemarle, between the Duke's footman and a butcher; the latter won the prize, as he hath done many before, being accounted (though but a little man) the best at that exercise in England."—*Protestant Mercury*, 1681.

The

The Bear-garden is mentioned in 1681, where, we find, the ambassador from Morocco, the Duke of Albemarle, and others, witnessed the death of several dogs.

Fortunately for the character of our country, I have met with but one solitary instance of the deliberate torture of the useful and excellent animal the horse, and that occurred in April 1682. Notice was given in the papers, that, on the 12th of April, a horse of uncommon strength, and between 18 and 19 hands high, would be *baited to death at his Majesty's Bear-garden* at the Hope, on the bankside, for the amusement of the Morocco ambassador, many of the nobility who knew the horse, and any others who would pay the price of admission.

It seems this animal originally belonged to the Earl of Rochester, and, being of a ferocious disposition, had killed several of his brethren; for which misdeed he was sold to the Earl of Dorchester; in whose service committing several similar offences, he was transferred to the worse than savages who kept the Bear-garden.

On the day appointed, several dogs were set upon the vindictive steed, which he destroyed or drove from the area; at this instant, his owners determined to preserve him for a future day's sport, and directed a person to lead him away; but before the horse had reached London Bridge, the

the spectators demanded the fulfilment of the promise of baiting him to death, and began to destroy the building: to conclude, the poor beast was brought back, and other dogs set upon him without effect, when he was stabbed to death with a sword.

The newspapers contain the succeeding article, under the date of January 25, in the above year. "This day, his Majesty, with most of the court, went into Hyde Park, where the guards exercised before the Morocco ambassador. His Excellency seemed pleased with the manner of our military discipline. The soldiers were gallantly accoutred, and the officers magnificently. In return, the ambassador's followers exercised after their manner, which, though strange to us, was excellently performed, and with most admirable agility, their horses being very tractable and well-managed.

"Some of their performances were throwing of lances, which, with incredible swiftness and dexterity, they would catch again before they fell to the ground. They did likewise, upon full speed, take off a ring hung up for that purpose upon the end of their lances, very rarely missing, shewing great skill in several other diversions. Scarce ever was seen in the Park so great an appearance of coaches."

In addition to the common amusements of the day, the public was gratified with a most magnificent

ficent exhibition, in honour of the birth of a branch of the Royal family of France in 1682. The ambassador from that court resided at St. James's square, and, finding his own mansion too small to accommodate all his expected visitors, he borrowed that of the Duke of St. Alban's. Every precaution was taken to secure the company from insult and pressure on their way to the entertainment, and the houses from assault, during the progress of it, "both the houses being barricadoed, and all little enough to keep off the mobile," says the Loyal Protestant.

Government contributed to this end by sending parties of the horse and foot guards, and to the general exhilaration, by permitting the Royal musicians and trumpeters to perform on the occasion.

Two scaffolds were erected in the square at six in the evening, on which arbours were placed, that concealed the sources whence plenty of wine flowed for the use of the populace; and at night, ten pillars, each supporting four vases of inflammable matter, illuminated the area, and a stage 18 feet by 16, and 12 high, covered with deep blue drapery, adorned with golden *fleurs de lis*, at the bottom of which was a representation of the sea, with boys bearing the French standard, and sporting with dolphins; at two of the angles were figures of Discord and Envy; on the stage already described was a second, eight feet high, covered

covered with white sarsnet, decorated with dolphins, supporting Fame.

A variety of brilliant and excellent fireworks terminated the pleasures of the evening, which was distinguished by one act on the part of the mob, which had better been omitted; and that was the total demolition of one of the arbours, by throwing it into a large bonfire, because the wine had ceased to run from it.

The same month produced an affray that originated from the most perfect harmony. Several gentlemen serenaded the Duke of Monmouth at his house in Soho square; whence they went to the lady Stanford's, and were paying her the same compliment, when the servants of the Duke, conceiving the music an affront, sallied forth, and severely beat the innocent musicians, who were but ill-requited for thus sacrificing their rest, except that the Duke afterwards did them the honour to be very angry with his domestics.

Other accounts of the same occurrence declare that the songs and music were intended as an insult.

The licensing of ballad-singers procured the publick better entertainment in the time of Charles II. than we now receive from the hoarse pipes and discordant notes of that elegant class of females.

John Clarke, bookseller, rented the licensing of

of all ballad-singers of Charles Killigrew, Esq. master of the revels, for five years, which term expired in 1682. "These, therefore, are to give notice (saith the latter gentleman in the London Gazette) to all ballad-singers, that they take out licenses at the office of the Revels at Whitehall, for singing and selling of ballads and small books, according to an antient custom.

"And all persons concerned are hereby desired to take notice of, and to suppress, all mountebanks, rope-dancers, prize-players, ballad-singers, and such as make shew of motions and strange sights, that have not a license in red and black letters, under the hand and seal of the said Charles Killigrew, Esq. master of the revels to his Majesty; and, in particular, to suppress one Mr. Irish, Mr. Thomas Varney, and Thomas Yeats, mountebank, who have no license, that they may be proceeded against according to law."

It would be wrong to dispute the propriety of this superintendance at so distant a period as the present; but it might as well have occurred to the master of the revels, that precautions should be taken to prevent improprieties in the established theatres, which, it will appear, was not the case, as on the 27th of April, 1682, Mr. Charles Deering, son of Sir Edward Deering, and Mr. Vaughan, quarrelled in the Duke's play-house, and, mutually drawing, rushed *upon the stage*, where

where they fought without interruption till the former was severely wounded.

One of the most curious and ingenious amusements ever offered to the publick ear was contrived in the year 1682, when an elm plank was exhibited to the King and the credulous of London, which, being touched by a hot iron, invariably produced a sound resembling deep groans.

This sensible, and very irritable board, received numbers of noble visitors; and other boards, sympathising with their afflicted brother, demonstrated how much affected they might be by similar means.

The publicans in different parts of the city immediately applied ignited metal to all the wood work of their houses, in hopes of finding sensitive timber; but I do not perceive any were so successful as the landlord of the Bowman tavern in Drury Lane, who had a mantle tree so extremely prompt and loud in its responses, that the sagacious observers were nearly unanimous in pronouncing it part of the same trunk which had afforded the original plank.

The following paragraph is from the Loyal London Mercury, Oct. 4, 1682. "Some persons being this week drinking at the Queen's Arms tavern, in St. Martin's le Grand, in the kitchen, and having laid the fire-fork in the fire

to

to light their pipes, accidentally fell a discoursing of the groaning board, and what might be the cause of it. One in the company, having the fork in his hand to light his pipe, would needs make trial of a long dresser that stood there, which, upon the first touch, made a great noise and groaning more than ever the board that was shewed did, and then they touched it three or four times, and found it far beyond the other. They all having seen it, the house is almost filled with spectators day and night, and any company calling for a glass of wine may see it; which, in the judgement of all, is far louder, and makes a longer groan, than the other, which to report, unless seen, would seem incredible."

While the good people of London were listening with due astonishment to the various groaning boards, the Monarch varied his amusements by attending the races of Newmarket, where he betted at one time of the day, and hawked at another.

In the evening, he saw a play acted by his servants, as the performers were termed; nor was he too refined in his ideas to attend exhibitions of rope-dancers, and the brutal sport of bull-baiting. The Queen was still further entertained, as we are informed by Nat. Thompson in his Loyal Protestant, who says,

"By a letter from New Market, we have an account,

account, that when the Court was there, her Majesty was pleased to divert her self with seeing a mare (which belongs to one of the gentlemen of her troop) shew several tricks: as telling of money; then turning her loose, she will walk upon three or four legs as he calls her; she will take up a glove in her mouth, and give it to her master as he sits on her back; when he pleases she will lie down, and he on her back; and if he alight off her, she will lie still till he gets on her again, though he go from her; and many more too tedious to relate.

"His Majesty has likewise seen her, and ordered him to teach her what tricks he can, and if he can so teach her that she will do the same to any other, his Majesty will give him a great reward for her, intending (as is thought) to make a present of her beyond sea. During his Majesty's stay at New Market, the musitians of the towns thereabouts came and played to him as he was dressing.

"One morning Bury-men, another morning Cambridge-men, another Thetford, they all came with their cloaks and liveries very formally, which was much liked of by his Majesty, he giving to every company two guineas. His Majesty, at his coming home, was treated at Bishops-Stafford, in his coach, by a person of honour; and the Queen, at a place called Ryfields,

fields, had a fine treat in the fields, there being tables and chairs placed, and a piece of tapstrey for her Majesty to tread upon.

"On Tuesday morning was a great match at tennis at Whitehall, where his Majesty and his Royal Highness were present. After which, his Majesty played himself, with one lord of his side, against two more of the nobility; and his Majesty had the better of it."

The London Mercury for October 28, 1682, mentions, that the Duke of Grafton amused himself by joining with Lord Dunblane and two other noblemen in the violent exertion of rowing a wherry to Erith.

As they were habited in white satin laced with gold, it may be supposed the novelty of the circumstance attracted many spectators; at Greenwich they *run foul*, in the sailor phrase, of a large boat which lay at anchor, and had nearly terminated their frolick by a complete ducking, if not more fatally; they, however, reached the place of their destination in safety, and dined on board Lord Dunblane's pleasure-boat, moored there.

The Duke was the second natural son of Charles II. by the Duchess of Cleveland, and his having been a naval commander sufficiently accounts for the eccentricity of this aquatic excursion. He died in consequence of a wound received at the siege of Cork in 1690.

A quack

A quack who exhibited upon a stage in Covent-Garden the same year, *amused* his spectators with taking thirteen grains of some poisonous drug. The German operator, as he was termed, performed this experiment under the inspection of several surgeons and physicians; and retiring, contrived, by means best known to himself, to evacuate it, or prevent any visible ill effects from a dose that, Benskin says in his Domestic Intelligence, would have killed twenty men.

I quote the ensuing paragraph from the Loyal Protestant of November 14, 1682, to shew that the lawyers had not entirely discontinued the revels, which are more fully noticed in my history of the Inns of Court in "Londinium Redivivum."

"On Saturday last, at the revels in Gray's Inn, were several noble personages, as the Prince of Burgundy, an Italian Marquis, &c., where they were entertained with variety of dances; which being ended, there was a rich banquet prepared for them by Mr. Richard Gipps, a very worthy and ingenious gentleman, who is master of the revels, and has constituted a master of the ceremonies, eight revellers, and twelve comptrollers."

A few days before, the King published a mandate forbidding the making of "any bonfires, or any other public fire-works, upon any festival day, or at any other time or times whatsoever, without particular direction or order first had from his

his Majesty, or this board (the Council), or from the Lord Mayor of London, or by the Justices of Peace in their respective limits, upon pain of his Majesty's displeasure, and being prosecuted with the utmost severity of the law."

It might have been supposed, that the above notice was sufficient to prevent the disorders apprehended from the usual mode of public rejoicing; and yet we find that in November following another became necessary, in consequence of a brutal assault on the Sieur Citters, ambassador from the States General, who, passing with his lady through the streets on the evening of the fifth, was attacked with fire-brands, squibs, and stones, by which his lady was dangerously wounded.

The Gazette of April 14, 1684, contains another less important but curious order, similar to one in a preceding page.

"All persons concerned are hereby desired to take notice of and suppress all mountebanks, rope-dancers, ballad-singers, &c. that have not a licence from the master of his Majesty's revels (which, for this present year, are all printed with black letters, and the King's arms in red), and particularly Samuel Rutherford and —— Irish, mountebanks, and William Bevel and Richard Olsworth; and all those that have licences, with red and black letters, are to come to the office

to change them for licences as they are now altered."

The card-players and venders of cards were desired to take notice in 1684, "That for the better encouragement of the manufacture of making of playing cards in England (wherein many hundred poor people are employed) by direction of his Majesty's letters patent (pursuant to charters and directions of the late King James and King Charles), an office is erected in Silver-street, in Bloomsbury, for sealing all playing cards of English make (which will be there first surveyed), that the frauds practised in the making of English cards may be prevented, and the foreign cards (which are brought in contrary to law) may be discovered.

"The price of all cards will be put upon each pack, to the end that none under pretence of sealing the cards may sell the same at dearer rates; and it will thereby appear, that the very best cards shall be sold in London by the last retailer at *four* pence the pack, and others at *cheaper* rates."

Thomas Neale, Esq. groom-porter to the King, received authority by letters patent, a short time after, to license, regulate, or suppress, any gaming-house; and to prosecute all those who permitted rafflings, ordinaries, or other public games, with out first obtaining his licence.

In

In the year 1687, a person who called himself an Engineer, exhibited a model of Versailles, made of copper, and gilt with silver and gold, and the gardens and water-works. The dimensions were twenty-four feet by eighteen, and it was to be seen at Exeter 'Change.

Mr. Killigrew published a notice in the London Gazette of February 2, 1687, in these words: "Whereas his late Majesty, of blessed memory, by his letters patent, dated the 6th of May, in the 20th year of his reign, did grant unto Charles Killigrew, Esq. the office of master of the revels and masques, with power and authority to license all stage-plays, dancers of the ropes, and other public shews, &c.

"And whereas Mr. Symms, comptroller of the revels, hath pretended to do the same, by giving of licences, which hath lately been adjudged against Mr. Symms to be the sole right of Mr. Killigrew to grant such licences; of all which it is thought fit to give public notice, to prevent the abuses which have been formerly committed through mistake of the person to whom they might address for licences."

Mr. Abel the celebrated musician, and one of the Royal band, entertained the publick, and demonstrated his loyalty on the evening of June 18, 1688, by the performance of an aquatic concert.

The barge prepared for this purpose was richly decorated, and illuminated by numerous torches. The musick was composed expressly for the occasion by Signior Fede, master of the Chapel Royal, and the performers, vocal and instrumental, amounted to one hundred and thirty, selected as the greatest proficients in the science.

"All ambitious," says the author of Public Occurrences, "hereby to express their loyalty and hearty joy *for her Majesty's safe deliverance*, and the *birth of the Prince of Wales*."

The first performance took place facing Whitehall, and the second opposite Somerset-house, where the Queen Dowager then resided. Great numbers of barges and boats were assembled, and each having flambeaux on board, the scene was extremely brilliant and pleasing.

"The musick being ended, all the nobility and company that were upon the water gave three shouts to express their joy and satisfaction; and all the gentlemen of the musick went to Mr. Abel's house, which was nobly illuminated, and honoured with the presence of a great many of the nobility; out of whose window there hung a fine machine full of lights, which drew thither a vast concourse of people.

"The entertainment lasted till three of the clock the next morning, the musick playing and the trumpets sounding all the while: the whole concluding

cluding with the healths of their Majesties, the Prince of Wales, and the Royal family."

The harmony and serenity of the above innocent amusement originated from the same cause, which, in more unenlightened minds, produced very opposite passions.

On the evening of the 30th of June, the publick thought proper to celebrate the discharge of the seven Bishops by making of bonfires in the streets. We have already seen that Government wished to prevent this method of rejoicing; and, on this occasion, a constable, and Madson, the head beadle of St. Clements, attended a fire in Beaufort-street to prevent disorders, when the mob thinking proper to command a coachman passing to take off his hat, and cry "God bless the Bishops!" the constable bade him go on.

This opposition to their pleasure was immediately resented by the populace, and a contest ensued, in which the guardians of the night were successful; but some villains returned to the charge with half-pikes and pistols: a shot from one of the latter was fired with so good an aim, that Madson received it in his back, whence it passed upwards, and was extracted under his left breast. He died on the 4th of July.

The Thames seems to have been the favourite theatre for the exhibition of the usual testimonies of loyalty in the reign of James II. The middle

of

of July, 1688, was appointed for the celebration of the Queen's recovery from her *accouchement*, when a magnificent display of fire-works were prepared on the river; "there being," says Larkin in his Public Occurrences, "amongst other things two female figures, one with a coronet on her head, representing Firmness, or Stability of Empire, the other Plenty, and a third male one betokening Bacchus.—Vast preparations are made, and great sums of money given, for conveniences to see the fire-works to-morrow night (July 18th), which, for cost, quantity, and art, are perhaps the most magnificent that ever were shewn in the world."

The impartial Account of remarkable Accidents, &c. mentions, that the explosion of the fire-works gave great satisfaction to the thousands who witnessed it; and asserts, that the numerous sky and ground rockets or water lances, balloons, fire-boxes, &c. were directed with such skill, that no kind of injury occurred to the spectators.

The whole was concluded by repeated discharges of cannon, which were answered by others from the ships below London bridge.

We are informed, that Charles II. often amused himself during his leisure hours with feeding and observing his aquatic and other birds kept in St. James's Park; and the London Gazette of October 30, 1690, gives a farther illustration of the subject

subject after his decease and the abdication of his brother. "Whereas his Majesty hath empowered John and Thomas Webb, gentlemen, keepers of the fowl in St. James's Park, as also keepers of the game within ten miles of the court of Whitehall, and the precincts thereof; and information being given, that notwithstanding his Majesty's commands, several persons do molest and kill his Majesty's ducks and game within the said limits; it is therefore his Majesty's especial command, that none presume to keep a fowling-piece, gun, setting dog, greyhound, or other dog, net, tunnel, trammel, or other unlawful engine, wherewith to destroy or kill, or any ways disturb, the game, contrary to the law and statute in that case made and provided, other than such as shall be by law qualified.

"And whoever shall give information to John Webb, living in St. James's Park, shall have a gratuity for every gun, net, dog, or any engine, that shall be seized and taken from any such offender. "NOTTINGHAM."

As the amusement of bull-baiting must be slightly noticed in the second part of this work, it becomes necessary to state the manner in which it was practised at the close of the 17th century. "Some," says John Houghton, F.R.S. in his Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, No. 108, August, 1694, "keep him on purpose

purpose for the sport of baiting, cutting off the tips of his horns, and with pitch, tow, and such like matter, fasten upon them the great horns of oxen, with their tips cut off, and covered with leather, least they should hurt the dogs.

" Because these papers go into several other counties, I'll say something on the manner of baiting the bull, which is, by having a collar about his neck, fastened to a thick rope about three, four, or five yards long, hung to a hook, so fasten'd to a stake that it will turn round; with this the bull circulates to watch his enemy, which is a mastiff dog (commonly used to the sport) with a short nose, that his teeth may take the better hold; this dog, if right, will creep upon his belly, that he may, if possible, get the bull by the nose, which the bull as carefully strives to defend, by laying it close to the ground, where his horns are also ready to do what in them lies to toss the dog; and this is the true sport.

" But if more dogs than one come at once, or they are cowardly and come under his legs, he will, if he can, stamp their guts out.

" I believe I have seen a dog tossed by a bull thirty, if not forty foot high; and when they are tossed either higher or lower, the men above strive to catch them on their shoulders, lest the fall might mischief the dogs.

" They commonly lay sand about, that if they fall upon the ground it may be the easier.

" Notwith-

" Notwithstanding this care, a great many dogs are killed, more have their limbs broke, and some hold so fast, that by the bull's swinging them their teeth are often broke out.

" To perfect the history of bull-baiting, I must tell you, that the famed dogs have crosses or roses of various coloured ribbon stuck with pitch on their foreheads, and such like the ladies are very ready to bestow on dogs or bull that do valiantly; and when 't is stuck on the bull's forehead, that dog is hollowed that fetches it off, though the true courage and art is to hold the bull by the nose 'till he roars, which a courageous bull scorns to do.

" Often the men are tossed as well as the dogs; and men, bull, and dogs, seem exceedingly pleased, and as earnest at the sport as if it were for their lives or livelihoods.

" Many great wagers are laid on both sides, and great journeys will men and dogs go for such a diversion. I knew a gentleman that bought a bull in Hertfordshire on purpose to go a progress with him, at a great charge, into most of the great towns in the West of England.

" This is a sport the English much delight in; and not only the baser sort, but the greatest lords and ladies."

An advertisement in the Post Boy of February 12, 1698, informed the publick, that on Thursday the

the 17th would be a new entertainment called a *Redoubt*, after the Venetian manner, with basset banks and other entertainments, where no person was to be admitted without a ticket and masked, or before ten o'clock at night.

This masquerade evidently belonged to the class of amusement called by the Italians *Ridottos*; but whatever might have been the intentions of the projectors, an order from the Westminster sessions, directed to the high bailiff of that city, required himself and the petty constables of his district to attend before Exeter Exchange from 6 o'clock in the evening till 12 at night, for the purpose of preventing the assembly.

The Protestant Mercury, of the 23d of the next month, gives a paragraph descriptive of one of the amusements afforded the Czar Peter the Great when in England, which I present the reader for *his* entertainment.

"The Czar sent some days since for Mr. Stringer, an Oxford chymist (who is now come to live in York Buildings in the Strand) to shew him some of the choicest secrets and experiments known in England; accordingly Mr. Stringer drew up a class (or number) of experiments, viz. some in separating and refining of metals and minerals, some geometrical, some medicinal, others philosophical, to the number of twenty-four

four experiments. When they were drawn up, the Czar elected one to be done first, as if it were a probat of the artist's skill; and it seems it was one of the most difficult operations, which shews that the Czar is skill'd in natural philosophy: for, said Mr. Stringer, if your Majesty knows so well how to elect or refuse, in these abstruse matters, you need not send for me, nor any I know in England. However, he desired to see that experiment done, which was performed to his satisfaction; it was to melt four metals, with a destroying mineral together, as gold, silver, copper, and iron, with antimony, into one lump, then to dissolve them all, and then to separate each metal distinct again, without destroying any one of them.

"It chanced the chemist, after he had made him some lead out of its ore, and silver out of that lead, and called the gold from the rest of the metals mixt, being transported into a merry vein, told the Czar, if his Majesty would wear that gold in a ring for his sake, he would make him an artificial gem of what colour he pleased to name, to set in it, out of an old broom-staff and a piece of flint, that lay by them.

"His Majesty, being pleased with the fancy, ordered it to be done; he staying by himself part of the time, and his secretary the rest, till it was done, and then it proved so hard that it cuts glass."

William

William III., being at that time at Newmarket, fifteen masters of the noble science of defence went there from London expressly to cut themselves for his amusement; and it appears from an article in a newspaper, that there was a wrestling-ring in Leicester fields, where a young man received so severe a fall as to break his neck.

The theatre in Dorset Gardens was let to a person styled the modern Sampson in November 1699, who proposed to exhibit his muscular abilities there, twice a week, by lifting of great weights, breaking ropes, and drawing against a horse, for the moderate admission of one shilling each spectator.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH STAGE.

When we recollect the astonishing number of ecclesiastical buildings which are to be found entire or in ruins throughout England, it cannot be a matter of surprize, that the gravity and superstition of the people demanded the establishment of a kind of religious stage, which might operate in a certain degree to amuse as well as instruct, in preference to the mere fancies of dramatists, who had to encounter innumerable difficulties during the interval which occurred between the subversion of the Roman power in England

England and the firm establishment of Christianity.

The miracles or mysteries, founded on the legends of saints, and those parts of the Scriptures best suited to the latter term, most probably succeeded the exhibitions of the Circus, within the compass of time which was required to reflect on the best means of promoting the ends the preachers of our faith had in view; and, however we might pronounce upon the propriety of such exhibitions if offered at present, it must be acknowledged, a better expedient could not have been devised to answer their purpose.

Eminent antiquaries, who had made the history of the English stage their study, have discovered, that a miracle dramatised was performed in the abbey of St. Alban's in the year 1110: whether Geoffry, a learned Norman, the composer of this religious drama, then first introduced the custom, is by no means certain.

Fitz Stephen the monk, who wrote about 1174, says, London had plays representing the working of miracles and the sufferings of martyrs; that they were well attended we cannot doubt for a moment, as there was a double inducement, compounded of curiosity and devotion. Piers Plowman and Chaucer both confirm the fact of the general approbation with which they were received.

Mr.

Mr. Warton seemed to think these dramas originated from the low buffooneries of fairs; which, he supposes, were co-eval with their establishment, in the time of William of Normandy. As those became the principal marts for trade, and lasted several days, methods were adopted by individuals to excite attention and custom, which some particular circumstance deprived them of by the usual means. Others, perceiving the balance turned against them, found it necessary to exceed their neighbours in attraction; and thus, by degrees, fairs became places of amusement, as well as of traffick, where the idle and the dissipated mixed with the industrious.

"The Clergy observing," says Mr. W. "that the entertainments of dancing, musick, and mimickry, exhibited at these protracted annual celebrities, made the people less religious, by promoting idleness and a love of festivity, proscribed these sports, and excommunicated the performers. But, finding that no regard was paid to their censures, they changed their plan, and determined to take these recreations in their own hands. They turned actors; and, instead of profane mummeries, presented stories taken from legends or the Bible."

It would be folly to dispute the probability of this custom having been derived from the Continent; and yet I am inclined to give the merit of its

its invention to a nobler cause than that Mr. W. ascribes it to, as I have already intimated. It may be well for us who are Protestants to say, that mountebanks, minstrels, and jugglers were proscribed and excommunicated by the Clergy, "and *that no regard was paid to their censure;*" had Mr. W., however, reflected an instant on what he asserted, he must have been convinced of his error in making that assertion:—*Excommunication* was too serious a matter in the Roman Catholic communion to contend with; and argument is not necessary to convince the reader, that no man dared make his appearance in publick who had excited the vengeance of the Church.

His theory, therefore, naturally falls to the ground, and my own will remain in some degree established.

It requires very little sagacity to imagine the nature of these representations, which were destitute of almost every modern requisite to make them tolerable. The characters were probably habited not altogether incorrectly, as we know that our first parents were exhibited naked in one part of a mystery, and clothed with the leaf in another; and why should we suppose our ancestors were less particular with the *descendants* of Adam and Eve, and *their* brethren?

The Harleian MS. 2013, &c. contains an ample detail of the sacred dramas performed at Chester in

in 1327 by the trading companies of the city; amongst which was the Creation by the drapers, the Deluge by the tanners, &c. &c. In composing them, the authors had the impiety and presumption to introduce the Divinity; though, in common justice it must be allowed, they thought of nothing less than impiety on these occasions.

It would be assuming more authority as criticks than our information warrants to condemn the mysteries further, as we cannot possibly ascertain whether any machinery was used at the earliest periods of their invention, which, we know, was adopted near their decline; indeed, we even have a list of some of the properties of the Mystery of Tobit, exhibited at Lincoln in 1563, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1787: an item from this will be sufficient. "First, Hell-mouth, with a nethor chap." As an illustration of this entrance to the place of punishment, Harsenet says, in his Declaration of Popish Impostures, 1603,

"It was a pretty part in the old church plays, when the nimble Vice would skip up nimbly like a Jackanapes into the Devil's neck, and ride the Devil a course, and belabour him with his wooden dagger till he made him roar, whereat the people would laugh to see the Devil so vice-haunted."

According to Mr. Malone, and the authorities he cites, Moralities were the next gradation towards the present mode of dramatic exhibition; and

and they consisted of allegory. Mr. Warton observes, "The Moralities indicate dawnings of the dramatic art: they contain some rudiments of a plot, and even attempt to delineate characters, and to paint manners. From hence, the gradual transition to real historical personages was natural and obvious."

The reader will find some of the uses made of allegory in my history of London, in the pageants exhibited in honour of Henry VI., and many particulars of the performance of dramas in the church-yard of St. Katharine Cree.

The first appearance of Moralities is supposed to have been in the reign of Edward IV.; but these did not immediately banish the mysteries, as that event may be attributed to the statute of 34 and 35 Henry VIII., aimed at all religious plays, which it pronounced pestiferous and noisome to the commonweal.

Polydore Vergil was of opinion, that the lords of misrule, dances, masques, mummeries, plays, &c. &c. were derived from the Roman Saturnalia. The same author asserts, it was customary for the English, in the reign of Henry II., to entertain their friends with scenic amusements and masques of the most magnificent description, at Christmas.

In the reign of Henry IV. an act of Parliament passed, which applied to Wales, and was to the

following purport: "To eschew many diseases and mischiefs which hath happened before this time in the land of Wales, by many wasters, rimours, minstrels, and other vagabonds, it is ordained and established, that no master rhymer, minstrel, nor vagabond, be in any wise sustained in the land of Wales, to make commoithes nor gathering upon the people there."

The changes in the national religion, that occurred in the three following reigns, suppressed and introduced, and again suppressed, this description of dramas; and, according to Prynne, the last mystery offered to public view in England was in the reign of James I., at Ely-house, Holborn, in compliment to Gondomar the Spanish ambassador. Amongst the other blessings introduced by printing may perhaps be included the gradual decay of the Mysteries and Moralities. The diffusion of general knowledge exposed the absurdities with which they abounded, and prepared the public mind for requiring more rational entertainment; besides, by this means the learned were enabled to convey their sentiments on improvement to a soil now fit to receive them.

Dr. Percy mentions an instance which occurred, he supposes, about 1510, when John Rastall, brother-in-law to Sir Thomas More, published "A new Interlude, and a mery, of the nature of the iiij Elements, declaring many proper points of

of philosophy naturall, and dyvers straunge Landys."

It is well known, that players of some description were entertained by Henry VII.; and Mr. Malone has quoted through Mr. Grose several items from two books kept in the Remembrancer's office in the Exchequer, which furnish the following information: That the Queen-mother had a poet; that there was a Welsh "rhymer" in the household; that the Lord Privy Seal had a fool, the King a tumbler on the ropes, *French players*, and employed the players of London; that the expences of two plays in the hall was *26s. 8d.*; that the players received *5l.* as a reward; and that some were so poor as to beg by the way, to whom the Monarch gave *6s. 8d.*

The persons associated as players at this time were evidently itinerant, and probably acted at any inn where an audience could be collected, and were at all times ready to exhibit at the mansions of the rich.

They had made some further progress in the public estimation in the reign of Edward VI.; but it was not till that of Elizabeth when the established players performed in temporary theatres, erected in the court-yards of Inns; and it is possible the two regular theatres of the Black and White Friars were the consequence of a licence granted by the Queen in 1574 to James

Burbage and others, to act during her pleasure in any part of England.

"In the time of Shakespeare," says Mr. Malone, "there were seven principal theatres, three private houses, namely, that in Blackfriars, that in Whitefriars, and the Cockpit or Phœnix in Drury-lane, and four that were called public theatres, viz. the Globe on the Bankside, the Curtain in Shoreditch, the Red Bull at the upper end of St. John street, and the Fortune in White Cross street;" besides those, there were the Swan, the Rose, and the Hope, which were closed through want of success in the succeeding reign.

John Field, who published a Declaration of God's Judgement at Paris Gardens, which the profane part of the community called an accident, mentions, that the Corporation of London applied to Queen Elizabeth, about 1580, to solicit the suppression of "all heathenish plays and interludes" usually acted on the Sunday; "and not long after, many godly citizens and well-disposed gentlemen of London," viewing play-houses and gaming-houses as so many traps to involve youth in future misery, and perceiving the injury and encroachments upon morality that would follow upon forbearance, exclusive of the disgrace and dishonour attached in consequence to the government of the city, waited on those magistrates who were known to be of a pious turn

of

of mind, and, representing the above circumstances, entreated they would take immediate measures to reform the abuses they denounced.

In consequence of the favourable reception of these complainants, the magistrates in question are said to have approached the throne with a request, that the Queen and her council would cause the expulsion of all performers from London, and permit the destruction of every theatre and gaming-house within their jurisdiction, "which accordingly was effected; and the play-houses in Gracious-street, Bishopsgate-street, that nigh Paul's, that on Ludgate-hill, and the White Friers, were quite put down and suppressed by the care of these religious senators."

If we credit the assertion, that Elizabeth was highly pleased with the gross humour and infinite whim of Falstaff, and that she actually caused the writing of the Merry Wives of Windsor, by requesting Shakespeare to compose a comedy, making the facetious knight the hero of the plot, it will not require much penetration to perceive, that her compliance with the wishes of the citizens of London was rather forced than natural; and this conjecture is supported by the fact of the immediate re-establishment of theatres in privileged places *without* their jurisdiction.

Indeed, the different acts of our Monarchs on this head have in all probability ever been at variance

ance with their feelings, as we do not hear a word of suppressing the office of master of the revels, whose express original employment was to arrange the scenic and pastoral amusements of the Court, which was afterwards extended to the licensing plays out of its verge.

Were we to form an opinion of the morals of any particular period by one single circumstance, it would appear, that the age of Elizabeth and that of her successor had a high sense of the propriety which ought to attach to the female character, as no female had then appeared upon the stage.

A very warm and a very learned controversy took place between Dr. Gager and Master Rainoldes, respecting the Theatre and its attendant consequences: the latter maintained, that theatrical performances were vicious and improper in every point of view; the former, who had written several plays, was as ardent in their defence: and, it seems, the origin of the dispute was the custom still continued at Westminster School, where the youth, in imitation of the antient practice of the Universities, act the plays of Terence. Gager had felt himself injured by some of the expressions of his opponent; and the latter observes, "Yea, although you say it grieveth them not a little, that they should in private, but much more in public, be charged with infamy, I believe and hope

hope so much the better of them: knowing that there is a grief to repentance, which the Lord worketh in his by such reproofs; and it was well with Peter when he wept bitterly. Wherefore, having this perswasion of your players, even of them for whose parts I charged plays most, namely, Hippodamia, Melantho, the nymph Phædra and her nurse; if I should have noted them as infamous; them, I say, not their parts; these plays, and not players; I should have taken on me the judgment that belongeth unto the Searcher of hearts and reins, and spoken against mine own conscience; which, if you have made them believe I love them so ill, by reason of the bad conceit I have of them, that I would do of spite and malice to discredit them: yet, let me entreat them to think I love myself better, than that I would through their sides wound mine own, who, when I was about the age that they are, six-and-twenty years since, did play a woman's part upon the same stage, the part of Hypolita."

This moralist would have been miserable indeed had he lived to witness the conduct of certain shameless females, who have disgraced the stage since his time; if he severely reproved the master and students of a college, for the former permitting the latter to appear in the dress, and utter the sentiments, of a woman, what would have been his feelings had he heard the licentious

speeches

speeches composed by Dryden, Mrs. Behn, and others, pronounced by a Woffington, &c. &c.

Another cause of complaint against Gager was, the performance of the plays alluded to on Sunday evenings; from which the author digresses to the non-resident clergy, who, he hints, encouraged this description of amusement. "Those idle pastors of the church, evil beasts, and slow bellies, who have mouths and speak not, eyes and see not, feet and go not, who feed themselves and not their flocks."

The court was extremely partial to splendid amusements; it is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that the manners of James and his consort had their advocates. Wilson says, in his life of that Monarch, the Court was a continued maskarado, where the Queen "and her ladies, like so many sea-nymphs or Nereides, appeared often in various dresses, to the ravishment of the beholder: the King himself being not a little delighted with such fluent elegances as made the nights more glorious than the days."

Were we doubtful on the subject before, whether the grave and learned professors of the *common law* delighted in the *common amusements* of the world, Prynne would remove those doubts by his charging them with the "evil custom and worse example of admitting common actors and interludes upon their two grand festivals to recre-

ate

ate themselves withal, notwithstanding the statute of our kingdom (of which lawyers, of all others, should be most observant) have branded all professed stage-players for infamous rogues, and stage-plays for unlawful pastimes, especially on Lord's days, and other solemn holidays, on which these grand days ever fall." An assertion in this writer's dedication renders it a matter of no surprize that lawyers were seduced into a partiality for the stage, as it must have been pretty general, if his stationer informed him truly, that "above *forty thousand* play books" had been *printed* within the two preceding years; which must indeed have found more purchasers than the choicest sermons, if the copies were all *sold* within a reasonable period. This demand will be in some degree accounted for, when it is remembered, there were then six theatres in London, and that the city and suburbs did not occupy one-fourth of the present extent. The Fortune and Red Bull were at that time re-built and enlarged, and the White Friars theatre was just erected.

The then moralists, it seems, universally rejected the public stage. Those performances, purely academical, and acted by the students and others, permitted by heads of colleges, they thought, might be tolerated, provided no obscenity, scurrility, profaneness, amorous love toys, wantonness, or effeminacy, was obtruded on the spectators; and

and provided they contained no female characters, and the consequent customs of clippings or embracements, invocations of heathen gods and goddesses, the appearance of males in female attire or rich dresses, that they were seldom represented, and always in Latin, gratis. It would be folly and injustice for a modern admirer of theatrical exhibitions to reject all that Prynne asserts in his "Histrio-mastix," 1633, as fanatical prejudice and spleen, as he really pointed out many gross and shocking abuses, in speaking of the profaneness of the English stage, which were overlooked or not observed by the mass of the publick. Indeed, the blasphemy of it, "a sin too frequent," he observes, "in our modern stage-plays, where these dreadful names (to our shame, plays ruin be it written) are most desperately profaned, most atheistically blasphemed. Witness our own late religious statute of tertio Jacobi, chapter 21, where our Sovereign Lord the King, together with the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in that Parliament assembled, for the preventing and avoiding of the great abuse of the holy name of God in stage-plays and interludes, which then grew common, enacted this pious law (which is seldom or never put in execution, because few else but such who delight in blasphemy, and therefore are unlikely to prove informers against it, resort to stage-plays), that if

at

at any time or times after that session of Parliament determined, any person or persons in any stage-play, interlude, may-game, or pageant, should jestingly or profanely speak or use the holy name of God, or of Jesus Christ, or of the Holy Ghost, or of the Trinity, which are not to be spoken on but with fear and reverence; that for every such offence by him or them committed, he or they should forfeit ten pounds."

As it is not my intention to dwell upon the various acts intended to repress the amusements of the stage, and that of dice and bowling, it will be sufficient to say, they may be traced from the time of Richard II. to the close of the period comprehended in this volume. In the statute of first James I. it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no authority given, or to be given or made, by any baron of this realm, or any other honourable personage of greater degree, unto any interlude-players, minstrels, jugglers, bearward, or any other idle person or persons whatsoever, using any unlawful games or plays, to play or act, should be available to free or discharge the said persons, or any of them, from the pains and punishments of rogues, of vagabonds, and sturdy beggars, in the said statutes (those of Eliz.) mentioned.

In compiling this article, it is next to an impossibility to avoid the charge of partiality. The friends of the theatre, whatever may be said by its

its opponents, could not have been universally profligate: thousands must before 1633, and since that period, have gone to scenic representations, with minds and intentions and conduct as pure as that of Prynne, or any other vehement censurer of them. At the same time we must admit, that an author who wrote a Refutation of an Apology for Actors, under the signature of I. G., came in all probability very near a just description of the frequenters of the theatre about 1600. In concluding his work, this I. G. observes, "I will only describe briefly, who for the most part they are who run madding unto plays. In general the vulgar sort, in whom Cicero pro Planco saith, 'there is no reason, counsel, or discretion.' But to particularize some only among all: the profane gallant, to feed his pleasure; the city dames, to laugh at their own shames; the country clown, to tell wonders when he comes home of the vanity he hath seen; the bawds, to entice; the w——s and courtesans, to let themselves to sale; the cut-purse, to steal; the pick-pocket, to filch; the knave, to be instructed in cousening tricks; youth, to learn amorous conceits; some for one wicked purpose, some for another; none to any good intent, but all fruitlessly to spend their time. But among any others that go to the theatres, when shall you see an antient citizen, a chaste matron, a modest maid, a grave senator, a wise

a wise magistrate, a just judge, a godly preacher, a religious man not blinded in ignorance, but making conscience of his ways. You shall never see any of those at plays; for they count it shameful and ignominious, even an act of reproach that may redound unto them."

Every person who has read the plays of Shakspeare, which were acted at the very time these self-sufficient censors wrote, must be convinced, that however true the former part of the above quotation may be, the latter is either totally unfounded, or the taste of the publick, and even the powers of discrimination common to modern individuals, was entirely dormant or extinguished by the cold application of Puritanism. The citizen, however antient, the matron, however chaste, the maid as modest as innocence itself, the grave senator, the wise magistrate, the just judge, the preacher, and the religious layman, each in his or her particular situation, might, at that precise instant, have received such lessons from Shakspeare as can only be excelled by the admonitions of decided inspiration, and such too as the geniuses of fifty Prynnes and his coadjutors could never have produced with all their classical deductions.

Had these authors given the praise justly merited to the passages of Shakspeare's plays which have been quoted a thousand times by the best of moralists

moralists in support of their morality, and censured those indecencies that are unfortunately slightly scattered throughout them, we should have felt ourselves convinced of their impartiality and good intentions; but to describe the productions of our immortal bard in the common mass of plays, "as the common idol and prevailing evil of our dissolute and degenerous age," which "had their rise from hell, yea, their birth and pedigree from the very devil himself," is so false, so base, and so malicious, that I confess I am almost ashamed to give the assertions of such an author on other points relating to amusements as worthy of credit from my readers.

It may be perceived by many circumstances in Prynne's work, that our old play-wrights were accustomed to derive most of the plots of their representations from the Heathen Mythology. "In all our stage-plays," says this zealot, "we have most usually the parts and persons of devils, gods and goddesses, of Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Venus, Vulcan, Saturn, Cupid, Neptune, Mercury, Esculapius, Hercules, Pluto, Bacchus, Ceres, Minerva, Diana, Juno, Proserpina, Flora, Priapus, and others, with a crowd of muses, nymphs, satyrs," &c. &c.; and, to their credit, they are also said by him to have introduced every description of persons to the notice of their audiences: "There is scarce one devil in hell, hardly a notorious

rious sin or sinner upon earth, either of modern or antient times, but hath some part or other in stage-plays;" and this perfection he conceived an argument against them, as if the exhibition of wickedness oppressing and destroying the innocent, did not cause a glowing indignation against the aggressor. Who, since the time of Prynne, has beheld the crimes of those fell murderers, Macbeth and Richard III. revived upon the stage, that did not recoil with horror from the view, and retire from the theatre doubly prejudiced against tyranny and usurpation; or who has seen the Venetian Jew seizing upon his victim, and his escaping through the grand scene of justice, administered and exalted by the acts and sentiments of Portia, without feeling all the agitation and triumph of generous benevolence? Surely Prynne never witnessed these scenes, or he must have become a friend to the stage, when thus employed to discountenance vice, and rouse the generous passions of the publick: on the contrary, he whines,

"O that our players, our play-haunters, would now seriously consider, that the persons whose parts, whose sins they act and see, are even then yelling in the eternal flames of hell for these particular sins of theirs, even then, whiles they are playing of these sins, these parts of theirs on the stage! Oh that they would now remember the sighs,

sighs, the groans, the tears, the anguish, weeping and gnashing of teeth, the crys and shrieks that these wickednesses cause in hell, whiles they are acting applauding, committing, and laughing at them in the play-house. And this, if there be any spark of humanity, of Christianity, any fear of God, of sin, of hell, remaining in them, would soon embitter the most sugred stage-plays to their souls, and engage them to detest them (unless they are marked out for hell), for such like torments as those now sustain."

I shall only observe upon this quotation, that those persons enduring endless torments should either be totally forgotten, as unworthy of human recollection; or their misconduct should be represented in strong colours, to shew the consequences of vice. Were history to be entirely suppressed, the world would become a dismal blank as to the past, and the probability of the future; if it is to serve as a lesson of experience, the historian who gives it most colouring, or who paints it with most force to the mind, should be admired in proportion; and Mr. Prynne gives a strong proof of his agreeing with me in this particular, by the numerous sombre pictures he has sketched from the antients to prejudice the public against plays. He has, as far as his abilities permitted, personified his arguments; and no poor player ever acted a sin with more pleasure than he has painted those

peculiar

peculiar to them. As an act of justice to the memory of Shakspeare, and as a just rebuke for the above shocking adjuration, I shall give the following beautiful lines from the former; and thus let the reader judge between the contemporary accuser and accused:

"——— 'Tis slander;
Whose edge is sharper than the sword, whose tongue
Outvenoms all the worms of Nile, whose breath
Rides on the posting winds, and doth belie
All corners of the world, kings, queens, and states,
Maids, matrons, nay, the secrets of the grave
This viperous slander enters."

CYMBELINE.

The spleen and vehemence of Prynne is sometimes useful in pointing out the actual state of the stage: thus, in his 219th page, he leads us to suppose the dresses of the performers were rich, and, if not superb, they were characteristic. This writer, who would have modelled his countrymen after the antients, and was ready to trample every thing modern under his feet, had been praising the Lacedemonian law, which confined rich clothing to the prostitute: "a law," he continues, "which would well befit our nations, our times, which, Proteus-like, are always changing shape and fashion, and, like the moon, appear from day to day in different forms. The minor is

 evident

evident by experience, which finds an whole wardrobe of all gaudy pompous vestiments; a confluence of all whorish, immodest, lust-provoking, attires; a strange variety of all effeminate, lewd, fantastic, outlandish, apish, fashions (or disguises rather) at the play-house, sufficient to excite a very hell of noysome lusts in the most mortified actors and spectators bowels."

If we accept the above words in their full sense, the theatre must have been supported with liberality by its managers, and the audiences were not disgusted by the confounding of nations and characters, as they were by the representation of female characters by males, and the still more horrid embraces and kisses lavished in almost every scene. The first chorus to the Prophetess by Beaumont and Fletcher, affords further light on this subject, which concludes in these words:

"Yet with such art the subject is convey'd,
That every scene and passage shall be clear,
Ev'n to the grossest understanding here."

In the pantomimic part that follows, Delphia is mentioned as having raised a mist, which shews that considerable progress had been made in the deceptions of scenery. The same piece exhibits some other incidents which explain the uses of independent machinery. Diocles and Drusilla are seen near a well, musick is heard, as if from its depth, flowers spring from the surface, and a spirit

spirit ascends; Drusilla observes, "See, Sir, those from out the well spring to your entertainment;" and in the Knight of Malta, "an altar is discovered with tapers, and a book on it. The two bishops stand on each side of it. Mountferrat, as the song is singing, ascends up the altar."

Dancing was considered at this time an indispensable appendage to most of the plays performed. "Those plays," says Prynne, "which are commonly attended and set forth with lascivious, mixed, effeminate, amorous dancing, either of men with women, or youths in women's apparel, are undoubtedly sinful, yea, utterly unlawful unto Christians. But all our popular stage-plays are commonly thus attended, and set forth." Indeed he goes further, and declares, "It be now so much in use, in fashion, and request, amongst us, that many spend more hours (more days and nights) in dancing than in praying; I might add, working too." From this fact it may be argued, that the introduction of dances upon the stage was in some measure an act of necessity on the side of the managers and authors; and, in many instances, they were produced with so little skill, that they might be considered rather an excrescence than a part of the connected performance, in "Women pleased," however, a masquerado of several shapes and dances was exhibited, which carries on the plot with propriety.

The general propensity for dancing excited considerable ferment amongst the Puritans and the over-zealous friends of morality, who sent the innocent and guilty dancer with indiscriminate fury to the lower regions. The gay and sprightly emotions of the mind, which were given by the Divinity to his creatures, with reason to controul them, the joys of social intercourse when all external objects are forgotten, were unknown to Humfryes, Reynolds, Babington, Perkins, Elton, Dod, Lake, Brinsley, Andrews, Williams, Downham, Ames, and many others who wrote before Prynne, as they unanimously concurred in denouncing this fascinating art. The latter gives the climax: "I would the dancing, wanton (that I say not whorist) Herodiasses, the effeminate sinqua pace caranto frisking gallants of our age, together with our rustic hobling satyrs, nymphs, and dancing fairies, who spend their strength, their time (especially the Easter, Whitson, Midsummer, and Christmas season) in lewd lascivious dancing, would now seriously consider. And this would teach them, not only to abandon all such dancing themselves, but likewise to withdraw their children, especially their daughters, from the dancing school."

A practice derived from the antients was in full favour at this time; which was, the introduction of pastorals and songs between the acts, to relieve

lieve the tædium consequent to the necessary repose of the actors from their labours: those were stigmatized by the Puritans as "adulterous, obscene, lascivious songs and wanton pastorals, which add strength and fuel to men's lusts," in the aggregate, which is certainly untrue. Had they, on the contrary, said half of the number were of this description, it would have been impossible to have denied the charge; they also extended it to private meetings. Surely they could not mean those of friends on visits to each other, but the convivial meetings of public houses. Yet Queen Elizabeth seems to sanction the idea that indecencies of this kind prevailed, as she directed that the church-wardens generally should enquire whether "any minstrels or any other persons did use to sing or say any songs or ditties that be vile and unclean." That the reader may form a judgement for himself, whether all the songs of the stage were impure when Prynne wrote, I shall give one from the Passionate Madman from the Muses of Beaumont and Fletcher:

"Hence all you vain delights,
As short as are the nights,
Wherein you spend your folly;
There's nought in this life sweet,
If men were wise to see't,
But only melancholy,
Oh sweetest melancholy!

Welcome

Welcome fold'd arms, and fixed eyes;
A sigh that piercing mortifies;
A look that's fastened to the ground;
A tongue chain'd up without a sound;
Fountain heads and pathless groves,
Places which passion loves;
Moon-light walks, when all the fowls
Are warmly hous'd, save bats and owls.

A midnight bell, a parting groan,
These are the sounds we feed upon.
Then stretch our bones in a still gloomy valley;
Nothing's so dainty sweet as lovely melancholy."

Had our violent declaimers lived at present, when the orchestras of the theatres are filled with performers of exquisite taste and skill, whose performances are calculated to give effect to the most intricate movements of our composers, what words would they have selected to express their detestation, when the inferior accompaniments of the stage in the time of James I. excited the following rancorous expressions: "That stage-plays (which have all other inescating lust-inflaming solicitations accompanying them, that either human pravity or Satan's policy can invent) are attended with such lascivious amorous musick, which is apt to captivate men's chastity, and foment their lusts; it is more than evident, not only by modern experience (our play-houses resounding always with such

such voluptuous melody) but likewise by the suffrage of sundry Pagan and Christian authors, both antient and modern."

We find by these gentlemen, that the sinners who attended our theatres were generally merry sinners; in short, they conceived it evident, that they actually visited the playhouse through no other motive but to be exhilarated, and pass away their time in mirth; "to laugh till their sides do ache again at the clown's behaviour, or some other merry jests and passages;" which laughter and pleasure, producing infinite good humour, they expressed in the right antient way of clapping their hands, and by loud acclamations—a custom introduced by the Romans, and continued to the present moment. In these hours of hilarity we are told, that the visitants of the theatres expended *2d.* *3d.* *4d.* *6d.* *12d.* *18d.* *2s.* and sometimes 4 or 5 shillings at each visit; but the latter sums must have been including coach or boat hire, tobacco, wine, or beer. The expence, and the facts mentioned in the following quotation from "Gosson's School of Abuse," were serious objections against the then state of the stage, without mentioning the reprehensible language and sentiments too often repeated. "In Rome," says the author alluded to, "it was the fashion of wanton young men to place themselves as nigh as they could to the courtezans, to present them pomegranates, to play

play with their garments, and wait on them home when the sport was done. In the playhouses at London, it is the fashion of youths to go first into the yards, and to carry their eye through every gallery; then like unto ravens, where they spy the carrion thither they fly, and press as near to the fairest as they can. Instead of pomegranates they give them pippins, they dally with their garments to pass the time, they minister talk upon all occasions, and either bring them home to their houses on small acquaintance, or slip into taverns when the plays are done. He thinketh best of his painted sheath, and taketh himself for a jolly fellow, that is noted of most to be busiest with women in all such places."

It is necessary in this place to remind the reader that plays were sometimes performed on Sundays, when a greater number of persons were at leisure to attend them than on the working days. Those who have observed our antient inns, which compose a quadrangular court, with galleries on each side of the square, will immediately comprehend the form of our old theatres: indeed, inns were frequently used for this purpose. This circumstance explains the words, "it is the fashion of youths to go first into the yard, and to carry their eye through every gallery." When the uncertainty of our climate is recollected, we are inclined to wonder that these inn-like theatres had

any

any visitors, as the audiences must frequently have been wet, though canvas was stretched across the upper part of the area during showers. The Globe, and perhaps one or two others, differed in the outline; their names were, at the time we are treating of, the Cockpit and Drury Lane, Blackfriars playhouse, Duke Humphrey's, the Red Bull, and another in Turnbull-street, besides the Globe and Bankside theatres. "O that this goodly law (one which Prynne speaks of) were now in force with Christians! Then plays and pastimes, on *Lord's day evenings*, would not be so frequent; then those who had served God at prayers and sermons in the day time would not so seriously serve the world, the flesh, the devil, in dancing, dicing, masks, and stage-plays, in the night."

It is a matter of regret, that a serious complaint urged against the theatre in its earliest stages still exists. We might imagine, indeed, that the following paragraph, with some amelioration, was intended to apply to many modern frequenters of the playhouse, were it not distinguished by the peculiar style of Master Prynne. "Our own experience can sufficiently inform us, that plays and playhouses are the frequent causes of many murders, duels, quarrels, debates; occasioned sometimes by reason of some difference about a box, a seat, or place, upon the stage; sometimes by intruding

intruding too boldly into some female's company; sometimes by reason of some amorous, scurrilous, or disgraceful words, that are uttered of or to some female spectators; sometimes by reason of some speeches or passages of the play, particularly applied to some persons present or absent; sometimes by reason of some husbands, w——masters, or corrival's jealousy, or affront, whose wife, w——, or mistress, being there in person, is perhaps solicited, abused, or jeared at in his presence; sometimes by reason of the apprentices resort to playhouses, especially on Shrove Tuesday; sometimes by means of other accidents and occasions. Many have been the murders, more the quarrels, the duels, that have grown from our stage-plays, whose large encomiums of rash valour, duels, fortitude, generosity, impatientcy, homicides, tyranny, and revenge, do so exasperate men's raging passions, and make them so impatient of the very smallest injury, that nothing can satisfy, can expiate it, but the offender's blood. Hence it is that some players, some play-haunters, now living, not satisfied with the murder of one, have embrued their barbarous un-christian hands in the blood of two, of three, if not of four several men. And so far are they from ruing the odiousness of these their bloody deeds, that they glory in the number of their murders as the very trophies of their valour."

We

We cannot disprove the truth of Prynne's account of the dissentions and fatal quarrels originating at theatres; we must, therefore, admit it, and nearly perhaps in its full extent. That such a man should look for Divine punishments on the crimes thus perpetrated is perfectly natural, nor were they by any means undeserving of it: yet I think, though several circumstances occurred that were in themselves punishments, we may venture to doubt that fire *came from heaven* and caused "the sudden fearful burning, even to the ground, both of the Globe and Fortune playhouses, no man perceiving how these fires came," unless we suppose that heaven suggested it to the mind of a fanatic; it would be performing an acceptable service to morality, if he applied a little of that we term *culinary* to the combustibles within those places, as some invisible agent has lately done to the antient rivals of Drury Lane and Covent Garden. As Master Prynne imagined doubts might exist as to what no man perceived, he advances one step further to convince his readers, that if something good did not interfere with the stage, something bad did; which was no other than the black gentleman himself, who came visibly on the stage at the Bell Savage playhouse, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, to the great amazement of actors and audience, when the former were enacting the history of Faustus. Many persons who witnessed

the first appearance of Satan related this *fact* to Prynne, and "*some*" *were* "*distracted* with that fearful sight;" but not the relators of course.

An earthquake which occurred in 1580 was wrested by Stubs in his "Anatomy of Abuses" into a fearful judgement on the persons assembled at the different theatres at the moment of the concussion. "God," he observes, "caused the earth on a sudden mightily to shake and tremble, as though all would have fallen to the ground; whereat, the people sore amazed, many of them leaped down from the top of the turrets, pinnacles, and towers, where they stood to the ground; whereby some had their legs broken, some their arms, some their backs, some were hurt one where, some another where, and many sore crushed and bruised; but not any but they went away sore afraid and wounded in conscience."

The drift of this passage is readily comprehended; but the words turrets, pinnacles, and towers, where the audience stood, produces a difficulty not readily solved. Did the author mean to say metaphorically, that the seats were elevated like turrets, &c.; or are we to understand them as descriptive of the style of the buildings, and decorated with Gothic pinnacles and turrets?

To close the list of judgements with an accident that strongly resembled one, we must have recourse to Field, who has been mentioned before.

"Upon

"Upon the 13 of January, anno 1583, being the Lord's day, an infinite number of people, men, women, and children, resorted unto Paris garden to see bear-baiting, plays, and other pastimes, and being altogether mounted aloft upon their scaffolds and galleries, and in the midst of all their jollity and pastime, all the whole building (not one stick so much as standing) fell down miraculously to the ground with much horror and confusion. In the fall of it, five men and two women were slain outright, and above 150 persons more, sore wounded and bruised, whereof many died shortly after; some of them having their brains dashed out, some their heads all gnashed, some their legs broken, some their arms, some their backs, some one hurt, some another; there being nothing heard there but woful shrieks and cries, which did even pierce the skies: children bewailing the death and hurts of their parents, parents of their children; wives of their husbands, and husbands of their wives; so that every way, *from four of the clock in the afternoon* till nine at night, especially over London bridge, many were carried in chairs, and led betwixt their friends, and so brought home to their houses with sorrowful heavy hearts, like lame cripples."

Charles I. very commendably passed an act in the first year of his reign, forbidding all theatrical amusements, or any of the inferior pastimes of the

the people, on Sundays; and Mr. Prynne very shortly after had the satisfaction of seeing them totally prohibited by those who assumed the reins of government. But whether the people did not quite accord with this demonstration of morality, or Satan began to inflame the minds of the publick, even before the restoration of monarchy, is not for me to decide. However, Mr. Malone informs us, "In the latter end of the year 1659, some months before the restoration of King Charles II., the theatres, which had been suppressed during the usurpation, began to revive, and several plays were performed at the Red Bull in St. John's street, in that and the following year, before the return of the King."

Charles II. having been restored to the throne of England in 1660, he did not, amongst the other weighty affairs of his new situation, neglect the stage; and accordingly granted two patents, one of which was to Sir William Davenant, and the other to Henry Killigrew, Esq. Those patents formed two distinct companies; that secured to Killigrew and his heirs, received the title of King's servants, and acted at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane; Davenant that of the Duke's company, he appropriated to the Theatre in Dorset Gardens. The King's servants were considered part of the Royal household, and about ten of them had cloth and lace allowed them for liveries: the Lord Chamber-

Chamberlain styled those, Gentlemen of the Great Chamber; and they were so much in favour with the Monarch and his brother, that they not only frequently attended their performances, but even condescended to settle those petty disputes, which are common in all societies of men. It will be remembered, that before this æra, females were never admitted upon the stage. The fair sex had now a warm advocate in the breast of Charles II., and their rights to the sock and buskin were fully confirmed by his sanction. Through this circumstance, and an order that each Theatre should avoid acting plays previously selected by the other, rendered the gratification of the publick as complete as the encouragement afforded would permit.

As all things are subject to change, if not in every instance to decay, so the two proprietors found in due time their stock of plays was not sufficiently great to keep alive that spirit of curiosity necessary to fill a theatre; and as a certain consequence, the frequenters of them selected that which they considered the best, and their preference was decidedly in favour of Drury Lane. Alarmed at the prospect before him, Davenant had recourse to the most powerful means for recovering his ground; and those were musick and spectacle, rich dresses, and excellent dancers. His success was equal to his expectations, and his competitor

competitor lamented in vain the preponderance of levity over good sense. "Taste and fashion," says Cibber, "with us, have always had wings, and fly from one public spectacle to another so wantonly, that I have been informed by those who remember it, that a famous puppet-show in Salisbury Change (then standing where Cecil-street now is) so far distressed these two celebrated companies, that they were reduced to petition the King for relief against it."

It seems probable the grave and sententious manners of the Interregnum had so far prevailed, as to give a severe check to the two Theatres, after the first glow of curiosity and novelty had subsided. This cause, or apathy in the audiences, rendered a coalition between the patentees desirable, which was effected through the King's influence in 1684. As all competition was at an end, the actors were compelled to accept whatever terms the joint-proprietors offered; which were, the division of the profits into twenty shares; a moiety to the latter, and the remainder to the former, to be subdivided according to the merit of the individuals concerned. "These shares of the patentees," observes Cibber, "were promiscuously sold out to money-making persons called Adventurers, who, though utterly ignorant of theatrical affairs, were still admitted to a proportionate vote in the management of them."

Before

Before I leave this subject, it will be proper to mention, that, though several fine women made their appearance on the stage soon after the restoration, yet they were not sufficiently numerous to fill all the female parts. This is illustrated by the case of Kynaston, a remarkable handsome youth, who was intended to appear one evening before Charles II.; but the Monarch arriving sooner than was expected, he sent to demand the reason why the performance had not commenced. The manager, knowing his partiality for a jest, declared the truth, that the queen was not then completely *shaved.*

After many ineffectual struggles and dissentions, the inevitable consequences of the state of theatrical affairs above described, Betterton obtained the Royal permission of William III. to establish a new company under his licence; and what was still more to the purpose, he procured the support and subscriptions of several persons of high rank; with which, and other means, he erected a Theatre within the walls of a tennis-court, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

It was at this time of division, temporary prosperity, and subsequent distress, that each party were at a loss for expedients to fill their houses, that the patentee of Drury Lane playhouse opened his upper gallery to the domestics of the nobility gratis; "for before his time no

footman was ever admitted, or had presumed to come into it, till after the fourth act was ended." The absurdity of the scheme must have been apparent to every person but the manager; and the futility of it appears from Cibber's saying, the custom was at length established as a right, and "became the most disgraceful nuisance that ever depreciated the Theatre. How often have the most polite audiences, in the most affecting scenes of the best plays, been disturbed and insulted by the noise and clamour of these savage spectators!" Nor was the above the only disadvantage entailed upon the stage by the adventrous enterprises or baits contrived by the patentee, who permitted the "unlicked cubs of distinction" to pass and repass, and lounge behind the scenes, both for money and gratis. The consequences of this indulgence may be *imagined* by the reader, but they were severely *felt* by the successive directors of the theatre; so much so, that Cibber declares himself and his colleagues were determined to discontinue the practice at the hazard of their lives; "and our only expedient was, by refusing money from all persons without distinction at the stage-door. By this means we preserved to ourselves the right and liberty of chusing our own company there; and, by a strict observance of this order, we brought what had been before debased into all the licences of a lobby, into the decencies of a drawing-room."

As an author, situated as I am, treating on past events, where personal knowledge is impossible, can only draw inferences from observation on facts related by others, it might be thought presumptuous in me to say the age was very immoral which permitted the representation of such plays as we find were offered to public view by Dryden, &c. &c. I shall therefore permit Cibber, who saw the effect they produced, to speak his opinion of the manners of the interval between 1660 and 1700. "It has often given me amazement, that our best authors of that time could think the wit and spirit of their scenes could be an excuse for making the looseness of them public. The many instances of their talents so abused are too glaring to need a closer comment, and are sometimes too gross to be recited. If, then, to have avoided this imputation, or rather to have had the interest and honour of virtue always in view, can give merit to a play, I am contented that my readers should think such merit the *all* that mine have to boast of. Libertines of mere wit and pleasure may laugh at these grave laws that would limit a lively genius; but every sensible honest man, conscious of their truth and use, will give these ralliers smile for smile, and shew a due contempt for their merriment.

"But, while our authors took these extraordinary liberties with their wit, I remember the ladies

were then observed to be decently afraid of venturing bare-faced to a new comedy, till they had been assured they might do it without the risque of an insult to their modesty; or, if their curiosity were too strong for their patience, they took care at least to save appearances, and rarely came upon the first day of acting but in masks (then daily worn, and admitted in the pit, the side-boxes, and gallery); which custom, however, had so many ill consequences attending it, that it has been abolished these many years. These immoralities of the stage had, by an avowed indulgence, been creeping into it, ever since King Charles his time. Nothing that was loose could then be too low for it. The London Cuckolds, the most rank play that ever succeeded, was then in the highest court favour. In this almost general corruption, Dryden, whose plays were more famed for their wit than their chastity, led the way, which he fairly confesses, and endeavours to excuse in his Epilogue to the 'Pilgrim,' revived in 1700 for his benefit, in his declining age and fortune."

Jeremy Collier, who reproved the licentiousness of the stage with moderation and good humour, effected a change which Prynne and all his puritanical brethren could not accomplish, though they summoned the terrors of endless perdition to their aid, and lavished it upon those who even ventured to see a play, however moral it might be.

The

The works of Sir William Davenant furnish us with the means of ascertaining the precise nature of the masques given by the Royal family in his time. The *dramatis personæ* of that called the Temple of Love were, the queen, a marchioness, four countesses, six ladies, and three mistresses, a duke, two earls, a viscount, two lords, and three gentlemen. The banqueting-house was selected for the exhibition of this entertainment, in which a stage six feet high was erected opposite to the throne; on one side, a figure adorned with feathers and seated on an elephant represented the Indian monarchy; on the other, an Asiatic on a camel, distinguished by his turban from a Turk, denoted the monarchy of Asia. Shields were suspended over these personages: on that appropriated to the former, a rising sun was painted, and on the other a crescent: above each were the capitals of large pilasters, which supported a frieze and cornice; on the latter reposed the river deities of the Tigris, and Meander, accompanied with characteristic emblems; a compartment in the middle was relieved by a crimson drapery, raised in part by naked boys, and flowing on the sides to the basement of the frontispiece.

The compartment was enriched with gilding, and the figures in correct colours. The first scene which appeared on the raising of a curtain was an extensive grove, with a mountain and path to the summit

summit in the distance, where a temple, shaded by young trees, overlooked a wood of cypress, intended for the Elysium of Poets.

A rose-coloured cloud soon after descended, and, expanding, discovered a beautiful female, clothed in sky-blue, sprinkled with golden stars; her brows were crowned with laurel, her locks flowed in curls on her breast, a spangled veil was suspended from the wreath, and near her sat a swan.

Such was the entrance of Divine Poesy. The strains she sung on her descent attracted the shades of Demodocus Fœmius, Homer, Hesiod, Terpander, and Sappho, who came in various habits, but all crowned with laurel. Divine Poesy having reached the earth, the cloud closed and ascended, while she proceeded to the throne; herself and the Poets singing alternately.

The next change was to a scene of clouds and mist, through which, parts of a temple were discernible. Three magicians entered from caves, from whose converse the audience were informed, that they were enemies to Platonic love; a fourth joined them, and an incantation took place, producing fiery spirits all in flames, airy spirits clothed in feathers, watery spirits covered with scales, and having heads and fins of fish, earthy spirits with habits wrought with leafless trees and bushes, serpents, &c.; and on their heads barren pieces of rock.

The

The fiery spirits were attended by a female, and debauched quarrelsome men; the airy by amorous pairs, ridiculously dressed, and alchymists; the watery by drunken Dutch schippers; and the earthy by witches, usurers, and fools. After them came a modern Devil, representing the sworn enemy of Poetry and the sister Arts, but a decided friend to every kind of discord; who was accompanied by a number of factious followers, habited in character; those were succeeded by three Indian ladies of rank, and their dancing-train; amongst whom was a young Persian.

After some observations, he retired; and a number of nimble youths, of the same country, appeared, habited in sea-green, their coats reaching nearly to their knees; they had loops and buttons before, and were cut square to their hips, with two short skirts; the sleeves were large, without seams, cut short to the bend of the arm, and hung down behind; under these were sleeves of white embroidered satin, " and the basis, answerable to the sleeve, hung down in gathering underneath the shortest part of their coats;" their turbans were silvered, and bound with white cypress, and decorated with feathers.

When they had completed a dance, the scene shifted to a calm sea, with a fore-ground of rocks, and a mountainous distance; the trees, and cottages, and animals, represented a landscape in Asia;

Asia; Orpheus, in a white robe, and mantle of carnation, crowned with laurel, appeared from the side, seated in a bark, adorned with sculpture, gilt with silver and gold, and terminating at the stern in a large bust of a sea-god.

It appears from the description, that the waves had motion, and the bark is said to roll with them. Previous to the exit of the musician, he sung, and was answered by the priests of the Temple of Love.

A sea chariot then came on, composed of porous rock, shells and weeds, coral and pearls, with golden wheels, the spokes without rims, and shaped like oars. Sea monsters brought it forward undulating with the waves; the seat, formed like an escallop-shell, supported Indamora, Queen of Narsinger, whose dress is not mentioned; but that of the masquers was of Isabella-colour and watchet, with bases in large panes, cut through all over, richly embroidered with silver; and the dressing of their heads was of silver, with small falls of white feathers, tipped with watchet.

The chorus sung during this scene. After which, the nearest portion of the sea became land, and Indamora, with her ladies, descended. A second dance of the masquers commenced; and the Queen having taken her seat by the King on the throne, the scene changed to the Temple of Chaste Love, composed of Satyrs bearing the

architrave

architrave and other members, enriched with gilding.

The interior of the building was decorated with pilasters, niches, and statues; and in the midst a stately gate, adorned with columns, and their ornaments; and a frontispiece on the top; all of which seemed to be of burnished gold.

Semesis and Thelema appeared, the former habited in cloth of gold, reaching below the knees, with wide sleeves; his mantle was of watchet, secured on each shoulder, and hanging behind; he wore a garland of sinope on his head, with a flame of fire issuing out of it; his buskins were yellow wrought with gold.

Thelema, a young lady, in changeable silk, was in other respects characteristic. These two personages sung; and during that time, a transparent cloud descended, which opening, Amicanteros, habited in carnation and white, with garlands of laurel in one hand, having reached the earth, he proceeded to the throne, accompanied by the other dramatic personages; the chorus following singing. "After which, they all retire to the scene; and Indamora and her Ladies begin the revels with the King and the Lords, which continue the most part of the night."

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE CHANGES IN OUR LANGUAGE, LITERARY CUSTOMS, AND GRADUAL IMPROVEMENT IN STYLE AND VERSIFICATION.

THE history of Learning or of Literature in England cannot be enlarged upon in a work like the present; as the subject requires volumes, and I can afford it only a chapter. The Druids were undoubtedly a sagacious set of men, and possessed more knowledge than the most improved of their countrymen; but it seems absurd to speak of their learning in the present acceptation of the term: the reveries of men little better than Savages, who could know nothing but by tradition, without the means of reading, and unable to write, may have had academies or schools; and precious indeed was the philosophy and arts taught in them.

To enlarge further appears wholly unnecessary. Individuals endowed with strong natural powers of discrimination were as liberally scattered throughout the general population then as at any later

later period. Those viewed causes and effects in a true light; but inventions and systems, calculated to advance ideas, were unknown, and it required many concurring circumstances to introduce them.

It is obvious, that as Rome was the seat of Learning when its armies secured a footing on this Island, we are indebted to Italy for that blessing, which, undergoing numberless mutations, became at length greatly, though not sufficiently, encouraged, producing thousands of persons whose names are an honour to this nation, and would equally honour that of any other in Europe.

Latin and French (the former barbarous and incorrect) were the two languages in which the learned preferred to convey their knowledge to each other. The English partaking of both, and originating with the Saxon, was for a long time consigned to the illiterate mass of the people, and consequently suffered daily mutilation; even after it became customary to encourage its use, the progress towards perfection was extremely gradual.

Leaving every other particular connected with the sciences, and the improvement of the mind, to authors who treat expressly on them, I shall present the reader with several specimens of our native language in a chronological series, and some of the customs of literature subsequent to the invention of the art of printing; which, consisting

sisting of extracts from respectable authors, will exhibit not only the change of words and modes of expression, but give the style peculiar to each.

Dr. Henry, speaking of the progress of learning in the period between 1066 and 1216, says, "The art of making paper, which was invented in the course of this period, contributed also to the revival of, and more general application to, learning, by rendering the acquisition of books much less difficult and expensive than it had formerly been.

"We have not the satisfaction of knowing to whom we are indebted for that most useful invention; but it appears that our paper was at first made of cotton; and, on that account, called *charta bombycina*, or *cotton paper;* and that towards the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, it began to be made of linen rags, as it is at present."

The following Saxon version of the Lord's prayer is said to have been written about the year 700; and will sufficiently explain the source of our language, even as it exists at the present moment: the two succeeding quotations are from the leger book of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and a deed of Henry VII.:

"Urin Fader thic arth in heofnas, sic gehalgud thin noma; to cymeth thin ryc; sic thin willa sue is in heofnas, and in eortho; urin hlaf ofirwistlic sel us to daig, und forgefe us seylda urna, sue we forgefan

forgefan scyldgum urum, and no inlead usig in custnung, Ah gefrig usick from ifle."

"To them that with feithfull desire knoke at the doyr of the spowse, assistant angelys shal opyn the gates of heaven recyvyng and offeryng to God the prayers and vowys of feithfull peple."

"For as much as the same oure Souverayne Lord the Kyng hath, by long experience, perceyved, and often seen, that, for lakke of grounded learned men in the lawes of God, Virtue emonges religious men is litle used, Religion is greatly confounded, and few or noe hable persons founde in dyvers houses of religion, lakkyng learned men, to be the heddes of the same houses, to the high displeasure of God, and great subversion of religion."

It should be observed, that great skill and excellence were attained in writing the volumes with which the libraries of princes, nobles, and monasteries abounded; some were written with liquified gold on the most beautiful vellum, and the other colours used were particularly clear and perfect: the characters had no other fault than that which attached to their established shape; and it may be very generally perceived, that the pen was conducted without the least embarrassment.

Many of our antient MSS. are decorated with exquisite coloured drawings heightened with gilding, and all of them contain some productions of the pencil.

Froissart

Froissart describes a volume which he presented to King Richard II. "I presented it to him," says this writer, "in his chamber; for I had it with me, and laid it on his bed: he opened it, and looked into it with much pleasure. He ought to have been pleased, for it was handsomely written and illuminated, and bound in crimson velvet, with ten silver gilt studs, and roses of the same in the middle with two large clasps of silver gilt, richly worked with roses in the centre.

"The King asked me what the book treated of; I replied, 'Of love:' He was pleased with the answer; and dipped into several places, reading parts aloud; for he read and spoke French perfectly well; and then gave it to one of his knights called Sir Richard Credon, to carry to his oratory, and made me many acknowledgements for it."

"Before printing was," says an antient author, "there was book-binding; for what MSS. were then in being were made public, by transcribing them by certain clerks writing a good hand, and made livelihood thereof. The written books were conveyed to the binder, who bound them after what manner the owner directed him.

"As authors and books increased, so did his profit by his trade, insomuch that some of these binders grew rich, and purchased so many MSS. as to furnish a shop indifferently according to those times, and, dying, left their sons well stocked; but

but printing coming in, broke the neck of the writing-clerks, but yet gave a considerable lift to the rising book-binder, who not only bound for others but himself, and printing his own copies, had work enough to do to bind his own books. Thus he became a bookseller, and transferred binding to others."

"The Boke, named the Governour," written by Sir Thomas Elyot, contains a passage, which demonstrates that carelessness and a bad education had produced a custom of innovating on our language before the time of Henry VIII. "It shal be expedient, that a noble mans son, in his infancy," observes Sir Thomas, "have with him continually only such as may accustom him by little and little to speak pure and elegant Latin. Semblably the nurses and other women about him, if it be possible to do the same; or, at the least way, that they speak none English, but that which is clean, polite, perfectly, and articularly pronounced, omitting no letter or syllable, as foolish women oftentimes do of a wantonness, whereby divers noblemen, and gentlemen's children (as I do at this day know) have attained corrupt and foul pronunciation."

Persons were to be found in the reign of Henry VIII. who thought very differently from Sir Thomas, and those he thus notices: "These persons that so much contemn learning, that they would

would that gentlemens children should have no part or very little thereof, but rather should spend their youth alway (I say, not only in hunting and hawking, which, moderately used, as solaces ought to be, I intend not to dispraise), but in those idle pastimes, which, for the use that is therein, the commandment of the prince, and the universal consent of the people, expressed in statutes and laws, do prohibit; I mean, playing at dice and other games named unlawful.'

"These persons, I say, I would should remember, or else now learn, if they never else heard it, that the noble Philip, King of Macedonia, who subdued all Greece, above all the good fortunes that ever he had, most rejoiced, that his son Alexander was born in the time that Aristotle the philosopher flourished, by whose instruction he might attain to most excellent learning."

"Good Lord!" exclaims Sir Thomas, "how many good and clean wits of children be now a days perished by ignorant schoolmasters? How little substantial doctrine is apprehended by the fewness of good grammarians? Notwithstanding I know, that there be some well learned which have taught, and also do teach; but God knoweth a few, and they with small effect, having thereto no comfort.

"Their aptest and most proper scholars, after they be well instructed in speaking Latin, and understanding

standing some poets, being taken from their school by their parents, and either be brought to the court and made lacqueys or pages, or else are bounden prentices, whereby the worship that the master above any reward coveteth to have by the praise of his scholar is utterly drowned, whereof I have heard schoolmasters very well learned of good right complain."

The same author speaks severely of the pretenders to learning, who taught for a trifling recompence, which was in truth caused by the disinclination of the opulent to reward the truly excellent teacher. "Undoubtedly," he adds, "there be in this realm many well learned, which, if the name of a schoolmaster were not so much had in contempt, and also if their labours, with abundant salaries, might be requited, were right sufficient and able to induce their hearers to excellent learning, so they be not plucked away green, and ere they be in doctrine sufficiently rooted.

But now a days, if to a bachelor or master of arts study of philosophy waxeth tedious, if he have a spoonful of Latin, he will shew forth a hogshead, without any learning, and offer to teach grammar, and expound noble writers; and to be in the room of a master, he will, for a small salary, set a false colour of learning on proper wits, which will be washed away with one shower of rain."

Were we to form our conclusions from the

observations of this excellent author, it might not be altogether incorrect to imagine, that the majority of the youths of antient families were rather deficient in the acquirements then and now thought necessary for their appearance in polished life. Vast numbers of exceptions could be made, however, no doubt, and multitudes of persons might be cited as examples of the learning and knowledge extant in the reigns immediately preceding that of Elizabeth.

The incalculable advantages which England has derived from the art of printing, now a firmly established custom with nine-tenths of its inhabitants in some way or other, makes it necessary as well as pleasant to give some particulars of William Caxton, and his endeavours to benefit his countrymen.

John Lewis, minister of Margate, in Kent, says, in his life of that printer, he was a native of the above county. His mother, it seems, taught him to read and write, which was something remarkable for her situation in life and residence in the Wealds. A mercer, named Robert Large, who died in 1441, received Caxton as an apprentice, employed him after the expiration of his term, and left him a legacy of 34 marks. Subsequently he went to the Continent, and resided there near 30 years, principally in Holland, Flanders, and Brabant, it is supposed in the character of agent

to

to the Company of Mercers; by which means he acquired sufficient credit to receive the appointment from Edward IV. of one of the commissioners to conclude a treaty of commerce with the Duke of Burgundy.

A marriage having taken place between the King's sister and the young Duke, Caxton was included in the lady Margaret's suit of English domestics; and to her he was indebted for great improvement in his native language, and for many valuable presents, probably with a view to encourage him in his eager observation of the progress of printing, then practised at Mentz, that she might eventually communicate the invention to England through his means.

Not long after he became one of the Duchess's family, he received her commands to translate a French work into English, relating to the history of Troy. This he undertook with reluctance and diffidence, as he had never been in France, and had nearly lost his own language. He, however, completed it in 1471, four years after he began it, and it was printed; whether by himself or through the immediate interference of the Duchess does not appear; but she was highly gratified on his presenting it to her, and well rewarded him. Dr. Middleton observes of this book, "That it has all the common marks of earlier antiquity," that "the letter is rude, the language incorrect,

and that there is a greater mixture of French words in it than in his later pieces, done after his return to England; and that this is one proof of this being the first book that Mr. Caxton printed, though not the first he printed in England."

It is supposed that Caxton formed a connexion with Wynkin de Worde, Theodoric Rood, and Thomas Hunte, who were printers at Cologn. De Worde came to England with him, and the others went to Oxford not long after. It is by no means certain when Caxton established himself here as a printer, but it has been conjectured it was about 1474; and his residence was at Westminster, where some of his books were printed in the Abbey, through the generous encouragement of Abbot Milling, who assigned him the almonry as his office.

The government seems to have justly appreciated the value of this art; and in the 1st of Richard III. an act of Parliament was passed, which permitted the importation of printed books for sale; and a subsequent statute expressly mentions, that there were but few printers in England expert in the use of types. This worthy and valuable man died in 1492.

Mr. Lewis observes, "As to Mr. Caxton's printing, that his first performances are very barbarous;" his letters resembled the character of the writing then in use. Instead of the commas.

mas and periods, we find this mark /." Mr. Palmer observes, "That he used a letter peculiar to himself, a mixture of Secretary and Gothic, and of the size at times (particularly in names) of Great Primer." Most of the characters are joined, which led Mr. Bagford to suppose his types were not distinct as at present.

His titles are in the German text, of the size of Great Primer; there are no catch words on his pages, and the signatures occupy their usual place. Many of his books have small initial letters, as directions for an illuminator, who decorated the heads of the chapters; in others, a large capital flourished occurs.

The pages are not numbered, though the leaves are in some instances. As he did not give a list of errors, he carefully collated all the copies with his original, and made such corrections as were necessary with a pen. The paper is fine, thin, and lasting, and his ink perfectly black and good.

The following is a specimen of his orthography and style.—Many gentlemen censured him, "saying, That in his translacyons he had overcuryous termes, whiche coude not be understande of comyn people: those persons requested him to use olde and homely termes in his translacyons.

"As he fayn wolde, he said, satisfye every man so to doo, he toke an olde book and redde therein; but certaynly thenglyshe was so rude and broad,

that

that he coude not wele understande it. Also, the Lord Abbot of Westmynster did do shewe to him late certayn evydences wryton in olde englyshe, for to reduce it into our englyshe then used; but, that it was wreton in such wyse, that it was more lyke to duche than englyshe, so that he coude not reduce ne brynge it to be understonden.

"And certainly our language now used varyeth ferre from that which was spoken whan I was borne. For we englyshe men ben born under the domynacyon of the mone, which is never stedfaste, but ever waverynge, wexing one season, and waneth and dyscreateth another season. And that comyn englysshe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth from another."

"In my days happened that certayn marchauntes were in a ship in Tamyse for to have sayld over the see into Zeland, and for lacke of wynde thei taried atte Forland (in the isle of Thanet), and wente to lande for to refreshe them. And one of them, named Sheffelde, a mercer, cam into an hows, and axed for mete, and specyally he axyd after eggys.

"And the good wyf answerede, that she coude speak no Frenshe. And the merchaunt was angry, for he also coude speke no Frenshe, but woude have hadde egges, and she understode him not. And thenne, at last, another sayd, that he would have Eyren; then the good wyf sayd, that she understood hym wel."

Wynkin de Worde succeeded Caxton in his art and house, and Richard Pynson, an apprentice or assistant to the latter, became printer to Henry VII. De Worde appears to have excelled his master, and first introduced the Roman letter, which he used in the manner we now do Italics.

I feel not a little gratified in the reflection, that while I illustrate the customs of literary men, the tone of their minds, their independent or abject spirits, by the ensuing extracts, I rescue many curious dedications and ingenious copies of verses from the neglect they have undeservedly experienced; indeed, that circumstance has induced me to make them more numerous than the first object required.

The reader will observe, that I purposely select from both *eminent* and almost *unknown* authors, in order to give the *general* state of literature; besides, the works of the former are so familiar, that it would be absurd to dwell on them exclusively.

A black letter work, "imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, within Temple barre, at the sygne of the Hande and Starre, by Richard Tottel, the x day of September, in the yeare of our lorde, 1554. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum,' as we are informed on the *last* page of the book, has the title page arranged as follows.

A TREATISE

A TREATISE

excellent and compe'dious, shewing and declaring, in maner of Tragedye, the falles of sondry most notable Princes and Princesses with other Nobles, through ye mutabilite, and change of vnstedfast fortune together with their most detestable and wicked vices. first compyled in Latin, by the excellent Clerke Bocatius an Italian borne. And sence that tyme translated into our English and Vulgare tong, by Dan John Lidgate Monke of Bucrye. And nowe newly imprynted, corrected, and augmented out of diuerse and sundry olde writen copies in parchment.

This

This book may serve as a precedent for those who wish to excuse the modern custom of wasting a dozen pages after the preface of a work in giving ample contents of chapters, which are most carefully repeated at the commencement of each. Take an example from *ten* pages.

" Howe Nimbroth builte the towne of Babilon to saue him from Noies floude, which for his pride was put from hys magnifice'ce and hys towre with sodeyne leuen smitten doune." " The prologue of John Lidgate, monk of Bury, Translator of this book."

I shall now offer the reader a sample of the versification and language of his time:

" He that whilom did his diligence
The boke of Bochas, in Fr'ch to tra'slate
out of latine, called was Laurence:
The time truelye remembred and the date,
when King John through his mortall fate,
was priesoner brought to this region,
whan he first gan on this translacion.

In his prologe affirming of reason,
Artificers hauing exercise:
may chaunge and turne by good discrecion,
shappes, fourmes, and newly them deuise:
Make and vnmake in many sondry wise

as

as potters which to that craft entend,
Broke and renewe, their vessels to amend."

"My fifth husbonde, God his soule blesse
Which I took for love and no richesse
He sometime was a Clerk in Oxenforde
And had left schole, and went at home to bord
With my gossip, dwelling in our toun
God have her soul, her name was Alisoun."

CHAUCER.

"The Image of Governaunce compiled of the actes and sentences notable of the most noble emperour Alexander Seuerus, late translated out of Greke into Englyshe, by Sir Thomas Elyote knyght, in the fauour of Nobilite anno 1556," within a border vilely cut and composed. The type is that termed black letter, the pages are numbered only on the right, the figures vary in size, and an i is sometimes used for 1. Sir Thomas accounts for his work in these words, part of a long preface: "As I late was serchinge amonge my bokes, to fynde some argument, in the readynge whereof I mought recreate my spyrytes, beynge almost fatygate with the longe studye aboute the corretynge and ampliatyng of my Dictionarie, of Latin and Englyshe, I happened to fynde certeyne quayres of paper, which I had wrytten

wrytten about nine yeres passed: wherein were conteigned the actes and sentences notable, of the most noble Emperour Alexander, for his wysedome and grauitie called Seuerus, whiche boke was fyrst wrytten in the Greke tonge by his secretarie named Eucolpius, and by good chaunce was lente unto me by a gentill man of Naples called Pudericus. In readinge whereof I was maruallouselie rauyshed, and as it hath been euer mine appetyte, I wyshed that it hadde been publyshed in suche a toungue, as moe men mought vnderstande it. Wherefore with all diligence I endeuored my selfe whiles I had leysour, to translate it into Englyshe," &c. First ed. 1541.—Although the date of this volume is 1556, it must be remembered the language is that of 1541.

"Stultifera Nauis, qua omnium mortalium narratur stultitia, ad modum vtilis & necessaria ab omnibus ad suam salutem perlegenda, è Latino sermone in nostrum vulgarem versa, & iam diligenter impressa. An. Do. 1570." Beneath these words is a miserable engraving in wood of a fleet of fools. The Ship of Fooles was translated by Barclay, and is printed in black letter; the right hand page only being numbered. The translator says: "But ye Readers geue ye pardon vnto Alexander de Barclay if ignoraunce, negligence or lacke of witt cause him to erre in this translation, his purpose and singular desire is to content

tent your mindes. And sothly he hath taken vpon him the translation of this present Booke neyther for hope of rewarde nor laude of man, but onely for the holesome instruction, commoditie and doctrine of wisedome, and to clense the vanitie and madnes of foolishe peple, of whom over great number is in the Realme of Englande. Therfore let euery man beholde and ouerrede this Booke, and then I doubt not but he shall see the errours of his life, of what condition soeuer he be, in like wise as he shall see in a Mirrour the fourme of his countenaunce and visage. And if he amende suche faultes as he redeth here, wherin he knoweth himselfe giltie, and passe foorth the residue of his life in order of good maners, then shall he haue the fruite and aduantage wherto I haue translated this Booke."

The proeme will furnish us sufficient in two stanzas to estimate Barclay's powers of versification:

" Among the people of euery region,
And ouer the world, south, north, east and west
Soundeth godly doctrine in plenty and foyson,
Wherein the ground of vertue and wisedome doth rest,
Reade good and bad, and keepe thee to the best,
Was neuer more plentie of wholsome doctrine,
Nor fewer people that doth therto encline.

We

We haue the Bible which godly doth expresse
Of the olde Testament the Lawes misticall,
And also of the Newe our errour to redresse,
Of Philosophie and other artes liberall,
With other bookes of vertues morall,
But though suche bookes vs godly wayes shewe,
We all are blinde, no man will them ensue."

Specimen of notice of Errata, 1577.

"An Admonition to the reader. For thy better expedition and furtherance in reading of this book, I pray thee (gentle reader) take thy pen and (before all things) correct and amend these faults escaped in printing.

Folio	Page	Line
14	a	17

Faults	Corrections
for we arest our hope	read we erect our hope

a Signifieth the first side of the leaf.
b The seco'd."

The Practice of Preaching, 1577.

"The Thirteene Bookes of Aeneidos. The first twelue being the worke of the diuine Poet Virgil Maro, and the thirteenth, the supplement of *Maphæus Vegius*. Translated into English Verse to the first third part of the tenth Booke, by *Thomas Phaer* Esquire: and the residue finished, and now newly set forth *for the delight of such as are studious*

studious in *Poetrie*: By *Thomas Twyne*, Doctor in Phisicke. London 1596."

The dedication is, "To the right worshipful Maister Robert Sackuill Esquire, most worthie sonne and heire apparant to the Right honourable Syr Thomas Sackuill Knight, Lord Buckhurst.

"The reguarde of your manifolde curtesies, whereof you cease not euery day to giue experiment, not only generally, so as all men take notice thereof, but particularly bestowed vpon my poore selfe, not vnknowne vnto many, and which without great note of Ingratitude, I cannot co'ceale, hath oftentimes driuen me, and yet doth, to deuise the means wherby in dutie and seruice, I might some way seeme to be thankfull. But finding mine habilite euermore inferiour to my good meaning, and my selfe euery day farther ouerladen vith the debt of your benefits, I haue almost giuen ouer to striue with you in good turnes, contenting my selfe now, since I am much alreadie, to bee more, if it may bee, and altogither beholden vnto you. Wherunto, neither hath the respect of mine owne priuate commoditie only, so farre induced mee, as I must needes, and that truly acknowledge, rather the singular gifts of Vertue and Nature, whiche are sufficient to induce any to love and honour those that are absent and vnknowne, so much the more eminent

in

in you, as wisedome and learning haue taught you to know, you were not borne only for yourselfe, but to deserue well of your countrey, parents, and welwillers. Of which last sort, as I will not professe my selfe the least willing, but rather yeelde vnto none in respect of dutiful deuotion, so must I not forget the woorthie mention of your honourable parents, vnto whome for great causes, and also to your whole race of Sackuils for priuate respects, all manner waies I owe myselfe: so that in honouring them I must needes loue you, and in louing them so honour you, as the rare hope, and only expected Imp of so noble rootes, and heire of so auncient a familie. Then, forasmuch as it may not bee, that the dedication of the work of Aeneidos now at the latter hand can bring any additio' of creditt vnto you, but rather be the more acceptable vnder the title of your worshipfull Patronage, most humbly with my selfe, I present the same vnto your good liking. Trusting, that as Virgill and Maphæus of themselves, shall bee welcome vnto you, so they neuer the worse for the companie of my poore name, but rather my name for the presence of so worthy writers the better accepted, as of one that of dutie intermitteth not to solicite the Almighty, for the aduancement of your good estate vnto all felicite heere on earth, and also hereafter in the euerlasting

ing kingdome. At my house in Lewis, this first of Januarie 1584.

" Your VVorships most bounden,
and willing
" Thomas Twine."

Dr. Twine addresses himself in the next place to the gentle and courteous readers, observing they ought not to be surprised that he undertook the work, as all the manifold examples commonly alleged as excuses for others who omitted to do what was expected of them, could not make him afraid; howbeit, perchance, they might be laid in his dish. " Perhaps," he adds, " they may want leisure or good will, or else they finish curtesy like women, and one looketh upon another who shall begin. But I," says the Doctor, " who have bin brought vp in the Vniuersitie, and meetly trained in other places, haue learned it to be good maners to bee doing with that which is before me.

" Wherein though I be vpbraided of some for ouer rash saucinesse, what remedie? I trust I have attained to the Poets meaning, though my verse be far from finenesse. And I know that it is an easier matter to find fault withall then to mend it."

That my reader may judge of this gentleman's merits as a versifier, I shall present him with the close of the eleventh book:

" But

" But the smoaking fields with dust Aeneas did behold,
And marching bandes in battaile ray of towne Laurentum old,
And Turnus did from farre Aeneas yrefull countnance view,
And trampling of their feete, and neighing of their horses knew:
Immediately they had their armies ioynd, and battaile tried,
Had not Sir Phœbus bright with purple mantle bravely died
His horse dipt in seas, and bringing night expulst the day.
They pitch their tentes before the towne, and trenches deep do lay.

Deo Gracias.

" Finitum Londini, per Thomam Twynum 14 Junii 1573. Opus 20. Dierum plus minus, per intervalla."

Each of the other books are terminated in a similar manner.

" Godfrey of Bulloigne, or the Recouerie of Jerusalem. Done into English Heroicall verse, by Edward Fairefax Gent. 1600."

This title is inclosed by a deep mosaic border, and the work is dedicated to " her high Maiestie" in the following lines:

" Wits rich triumph, Wisdomes glorie,
Arts Chronicle, Learnings storie,
Towre of goodnes, vertue, bewtie:
Forgive me, that presume to lay
My labours in your cleere eies ray:
This boldnes springs fro' faith, zeal, dewtie.

Her hand, her lap, her vestures hem,
Muse touch not for polluting them,
All that is hers is pure, cleere, holie,
Before her footstoole humble lie,
So may she blesse thee with her eie,
The Sunne shines not on good things solie.

Oliue of peace, Angell of pleasure,
What line of praise can your worth measure?
Calme sea of blisse which no shore boundeth,
Fame fils the world no more with lies,
But busied in your histories
Her trumpet those true wonders soundeth:

O Fame, say all the good thou maist,
Too little is that all thou saist,

What

What if her selfe he selfe commended?
Should we then know nere known before,
Whether her wit, or worth were more?
Ah no! that booke would nere be ended:
"Your Maiesties humble subiect
"EDWARD FAIREFAX."

A specimen of his prose:—"*Heroicall Poetrie* (as a liuing Creature, wherein two natures are conioined) is compounded of *Imitation* and *Allegorie*: with the one she allureth vnto to her the mindes and eares of men, and maruellously delighteth them; with the other, either in vertue or knowledge, she instructeth them. And as the Heroically written *Imitation* of an *Other*, is nothing else, but the patterne and image of humane action: so the *Allegorie* of an Heroicall Poeme is none other than the glasse and figure of Humane life."

"To the most noble, Judicious, and my best beloved Lord, William Earl of Pembroke; the most honourable Sir Robert Sidney Knight, Lord Governor of Vlishing; and the right, right worshipful Edward Herbert of Mountgomery Esquire, my most honoured and respected friends.

"To sub-divide *Souls* indivisible,
(Being wholly in the whole, and in each part)
For me were more than most impossible,
Though I were *Art* itself, or more than *Art*;

Yet must I make my *Soul* a *Trinity*,
So to divide the same, between you three;
For *Understanding*, *Will*, and *Memory*,
Makes but one *Soul*, yet they three *Virtues* be.
The *Understanding* being first, I give
Unto the first; (for *Order* so doth crave)
And *Will* (*Good* will) the second shall receive.
Then *Memory* the last shall ever have.
And as I part my *Soul*, my *Book* I part
Betwixt you three, that shares my broken heart."

Such was the quaint, whimsical, silly, yet energetical, dedication, which John Davys prefixed to his "*Mirum in modum:* A glimpse of God's Glory and the Soul's shape, 1602." This gentleman was a native of Hereford.

"The Iliads of Homer Prince of Poets. Neuer before in any languag truely translated with a co'ment uppon some of his chiefe places; Donne according to the Greeke by George Chapman."

This gentleman complimented Henry Prince of Wales in a poetical Epistle Dedicatorie, gives an Anagram on the name of his gracious and sacred Mæcenas, addressed, Anne Queen of England, then the Reader in verse, and in prose speaks of "Faults escaped," and begins,—

"*Achilles*

" *Achilles* banefull wrath resound, O Goddesse, that impos'd,
Infinite sorrowes on the *Greekes;* and many braue soules losd
From breasts Heroique: sent them farre, to that inuisible caue
That no light comforts: & their lims, to dogs and vultures gaue.
To all which, *Ioues will* gaue effect; from whom, first strife begunne,
Betwixt *Atrides*, king of men; and Thetis god-like Sonne."

The frontispiece to the Odyssy translated by the same author is a spirited etching, which would be considered excellent if just executed; that to the Iliad, engraved by William Hole, is very much inferior.

" Troia Britanica: or Great Britaines Troy. A poem deuided into xvii. seurall Cantons, intermixed with many pleasant Poeticall Tales. Concluding with an Vniuersall Chronicle from the Creation, untill these present Times. Written by Tho. Heywood. 1609."

The emblems cut in wood and placed under the above title are extremely curious. The Epistle Dedicatory is in verse, and very flattering to Edward Earl of Worcester.

" Homer

" Homer (long since) a Chronicler Diuine,
And Virgill, haue redeemd olde Troy from fire,
Whose memory had with her buildings line
In desolate ruyne, had not theyr desire
Snacht her fayre Tytle from the burning flame,
Which with the Towne had else consumde her
name.

Had they surviude in these our flourishing daies,
Your vertues from the auncient Heroes drawne,
In spight of death or black oblivions rage,
Should liue for euer in Fames glorious fawne,
Rankt next to Troy, our Troy-nouant should be,
And next the Troyan Peeres, your places free."

" The fauorable and gracious reader I salute, with a submisse Conge both of heart and knee:" says Mr. Heywood, " To the two-fold Readers: The Courteous and the Criticke." — " To the scornefull, I owe not so much as an hypocriticall intreat, or a dissembled curtesie. I am not so vnexperienced in the enuy of this Age, but that I knowe I shall encounter most sharpe, and seuere Censurers, such as continually carpe at other mens labours, and superficially pervsing them, with a kind of negligence and skorne, quote them by the way, Thus: This is an Error, that was too much streacht, this too slightly neglected, heere many things

things might haue been added, there it might haue been better followed: this superfluous, that ridiculous. These indeed knowing no other meanes to haue themselues opinioned in the ranke of vnderstanders, but by calumniating other mens industries. These Satyrists I meet thus: It were (in my opinion) more honour and honesty for them, to betake them seriously to the like studies, and the time they wast in detracting others, rather spend in instructing themselues, and by some more excellent worke (moulded out of their owne braines) giue the foyle to others of lesse Fame and consequence: This were a commendable and worthy detraction, sauouring of desert; the other, a meere rancorous folly, grounded on nothing but malicious ignorance. For who more apt to call coward then the most tymerous, but he only merits a name among the valiaunt, that hath actually and personally wonne his reputation by some deed of fame and Honour. But since these Criticks are a generall Subiect in the front of euery booke, I am content to neglect them, as those I reguard not, and to the friendly and best iudging Reader, thus turne my Apologie."

This brave and sensible defiance of malicious criticism derives double interest from the humility with which the author pleads for candour and generous treatment.

"Accept

" Accept then (I entreat you) this mingled subiect (as well home-borne as forraine) and Censure it as fauourably, as I haue offred it freely. Though somthing may perhaps distast, something againe I presume will please the most curious Pallate: Let that which pleaseth mittigat the harshnes of the other. He that speaks much, may (excusably) speake somewhat Idely, and he that in vnknown Climats trauayles farre, may (by misaduenture) wander out of the way: but where the mayne intent and purpose is honest and good, it is pardonable to expect the best. And in that hope, I prostrate these my barraine industries to your kindest and gentle Constructions."

The work has a long Proemium.

In collecting materials for this part of my labours, it must sometimes happen, that neither myself, nor is it probable my readers, know any thing of the authors who are summoned to give their testimony on the customs of their times; in the present instance, it is far otherwise, as Spenser appears at the age of eighty-six to illustrate his method of dedicating to his patrons and patronesses.

The ensuing epistle is from his Four Hymns, Ed. 1611. " To the right honovrable and most vertuous Ladies the Ladie Margaret, Countesse of Cumberland, and the Lady Mary, Countesse of Warwicke.

" Having

"Having in the greener times of my youth, composed these former hymnes in the prayse of loue and Beautie, and finding that the same too much pleased those of like age and disposition, which beeing too vehemently caried with that kind of affection, do rather sucke out poyson to their strong passion, then hony to their honest delight; I was mooued by the one of you two most excellent Ladies, to call in the same. But being vnable so to doe, by reason that many copies thereof were formerly scattered abroad, I resolued at least to amend, and by way of retractation to reforme them, making (in stead of those two Hymnes of earthly or naturall loue and beautie) two others, of heavenly and celestiall. The which I doe dedicate joyntly vnto you two honourable sisters, as to the most excellent and rare ornaments of all true loue and beautie, both in the one and the other kind: humbly beseeching you to vouchsafe the patronage of them, and to accept this my humble seruice, in lieu of the great graces and honourable fauours which ye daily shew vnto mee, vntill such time as I may by better meanes, yeeld you some more notable testimony of my thankful mind and dutifull deuotion. And euen so I pray for your happinesse. Greenewich, this first of September. 1596.

"Your Honours most bounden euer
"in all humble seruice
"Edm. Sp."

Two

Two stanzas from the Hymn in honour of Beauty will shew the polished lines of matured experience, formed from the wild effusions of a youthful Muse:

" Hath white and red in it such wondrous powre,
That it can pierce through th' eyes vntoo the hart,
And therein stirre such rage, and restlesse stowre,
As nought but death can stint his dolours smart?
Or can proportion of the outward part,
Moue such affection in the inward mind,
That it can rob both sense and reason blind?
Why doe not then the blossoms of the field,
Which are araid with much more orient hew,
And to the sense most dainty odours yield,
Worke like impression in the looker's view?
Or why doe not faire pictures like powre shew,
In which oft-times, we Nature see of Art
Exceld, in perfect limning every part."

The title-page of this book is composed of a complicated set of emblems, figures, and ornaments, inclosing the words of the title.

" Abuses stript and whipt, or Satirical Essays. By George Wyther. 1613."

George Wyther dedicates Abuses stript and whipt to *Himself*. This eccentric fancy makes part

part of his dedication useful in explaining the excursions of literature: "Thou (even my selfe)" he proceeds, "whom next *God*, my *Prince*, and *Cou'try* I am most engaged vnto; It is not vnlikly, but some will vvonder vvhy, contrary to the *Worlds* customes, I haue made choice of thy Patronage for this booke, rather than the protectio' of such whose mightines might seem better able to defend it; especially considering such a *Gigantick* troupe of aduersaries haue banded themselves against the *Truth*, that one of them *Goliah*-like dares raile vpon a whole hoast of *Israel*. It may be (I say) some will wonder, and some scoffe at me for it; for which cause (though to answer them with *sic volo* had been sufficient, yet I will not like our *Great ones* stand so much vpon my authority as to make my *Will* my *Reason)* I heere let know why, and for what causes I haue done it; the first is this: I could not amongst all men find any man in my opinion so fitting for this purpose, but either my *Worke* was vnworthy, or too worthy their Patronage. Secondly, it is sayd; *Obsequium amicos veritas odium parit:* and I doubting my free speech would hardly make a *Diapason*, pleasing to the ear of a common *Mecænas*, thought it best to hold my tong, or speake to my selfe, whose disposition I am better acquainted with. Thirdly, seeing I know but what men appeare, and not what they are; I had rather

rather indure the *Kites* tyranny, then with Æsops Doues make the Sparrow-hauke my *Champion.* Fourthly, if I haue spoken *Truth* it is able to defend itselfe; if not, who-ere be my Patron, it is I must answere for it. Fiftly, for as much as I know my own mind best; I purpose if need be to become my owne *Aduocate.* Sixtly, for my owne sake I first made it, and therefore certaine I am I my selfe haue most right vnto it. But seaventhly, and lastly which is indeed the principal *Reason,* I haue made this *Dedication* to thee poor *world* despised *Self;* even to put thee in mind, (seeing thou hast here boldly begun to bid defiance to the *Flesh,* and vpon iust causes quareld with the *world)* that thou take heed to thine own words, and not through basenes of mind or vntowardnes of *Fortune* (to thy euerlasting disgrace) faintly giue ouer so noble a *Combate.*"

Master Wyther enlarges considerably beyond the above period; and having completed his address to himself, he makes another to his readers, and tells them, they are not to look for Spencers or Daniels well composed numbers or the deep conceits of the then flourishing Jonson; "no," he adds, "say it is honest plain matter, and there's as much as I look for. —— Read and welcome, but censure not, for your judgement is weak, and I utterly renounce it."

Five epigrams succeed, To Time, To the Stranger,

Stranger, To the Satiromastix, and to the galld reader.

Th. C. the "deare friend" of Wyther, calls him the impartial author, and writes,—

"*George*, I did ever think thy faithfull breast,
Contein'd a mind beyond the common sort;
Thy very look an honest heart exprest,
And seem'd an aw-full mildnes to import:
Poets may vaunt of smooth and loftie straines,
Thine with thy subject fitly do agree;
But then thy *Muse* a better praise obtaines,
For whilst the greatest but time-pleasers be,
Thou vnappal'd, and freely speak'st the truth,
Not any one for feare or lucre sparing
A vertue rare in age, more rare in youth;
Another *Cato* but I think more daring."

The contents, Errata, The occasion of this work in nine pages, and an Introduction in five more, the two last in verse, precede the Abuses.

The same author published Britain's Remembrancer in 1628, containing "A narration of the plague lately past. A declaration of the Mischiefs present. And a prediction of judgements to come (if repentance prevent not);" which has a very neatly engraved allegorical frontispiece, descriptive of a dream, printed on the opposite page.

Twenty-

Twenty-four pages are occupied by verses to the King; in which he declares his resolution to maintain what he has written, though the earth should sink, and the spheres fall flaming around him; because he knew that, in defiance of all the malice man could exert against his poem,

"It shall continue, when all those be rotten,
Or live with infamy, or dye forgotten,
Who shall oppose it."

In his Premonition, Mr. Wither says, the critics did not scruple to vilify the author, when they failed in fastening their detractions on his work.

"Against my motto, though (as I forspoke) it redounded to their own shame, so raged my adversaries, that not content with my personal troubles, they sought the disparagement of that booke, by a libellous answer thereunto: wherein, I was used as most writers of *Controversies*, in these days, use each other: To wit, they objected what I never thought, and then made replies to their own devices: which being finished, was imprinted with an inscription falsly charging me, with labouring to stay the publication thereof; and then also, it was very gloriously fixed on the gate of my lodging, as if it had been some bill of Triumph."

This Premonition concludes as follows: "If you find any thing which may seeme spoken

out

out of due time; blame not mee altogether; for it is above two yeares since I laboured to get this *booke* printed, and it hath cost me more money, more pains, and much more time to publish it, then to compose it: For, I was faine to imprint every sheet thereof with my owne hand, because I could not get allowance to do it publikely: so unwilling are we of *Remembrancers* in this kind."

This gentleman advises the publick to beware of false prophets, who endeavour to make a breach between the King and the people.

"—— Oh! take ye therefore heed
Yee *people*, and yee kings (that shall succeed)
Of these *Impostors*. Of the last beware
Yee *Subjects*: for, their doctrines hellish are.
And though they promise *liberty* and *peace*,
Your thraldome, and your troubles they'll increase."

This work is in verse.

Drayton's Poly-olbion is most curiously decorated, and the frontispiece is extremely ingenious, if not very elegant in the design. It is thus described by the author on an opposite page:

Vpon the Frontispiece.

"Through a *Triumphant Arch*, see *Albion* plas't,
In *Happy* site, in *Neptunes* armes embras't,

In

In *Power* and *Plenty*, on hir *Cleeuy* Throne
Circled with *Natures Ghirlands*, being alone
Stil'd th' *Oceans Island*. On the Columes beene
(As Trophies raiz'd) what Princes Time hath seene
Ambitious of her. In hir yonger years,
Vast Earth-bred *Giants* woo'd her: but, who bears
In Golden field the Lion passant red,
AEneas Nephew *(Brute)* them conquered.
Next, Laureat *Cæsar*, as a Philtre brings,
On's shield, his Grandame *Venus:* Him hir kings
Withstood. At length, the *Roman*, by long sute,
Gain'd her (most Part) from the ancient race of
Brute.
Diuorst from him, the *Saxon sable Horse*
Borne by sterne *Hengist*, wins her: but, through
force
Garding the *Norman Leopards bath'd in Gules,*
She changed hir Love to Him, whose Line yet
rules."

Maps, characters of the towns and places, expressed by figures, &c.

Such were his powers of poetical description. The dedication to the high and mighty Henry Prince of Wales is probably the most laboured at least of his abilities in prose.

"This

" This first part of my intended Poeme I consecrate to your Highnes: in whom (beside my particular zeale) there is a naturall interest in my Worke, as the hopefull Heyre of the kingdoms of this Great Britaine: whose Delicacies, Chorographical Description, and Historie, be my subiect. My Soule, which hath seene the extreamitie of Time and Fortune, cannot yet despaire. The influence of so glorious and fortunate a Starre, may also reflect vpon me: which hath power to giue me new life, or leaue me to die more willingly and contented. My Poeme is genuine, and first in this kinde. It cannot want enuie: for, euen in the Birth, it alreadie finds that. Your Gracious acceptance, mighty Prince, will lessen it. May I breath to arriue at the Orcades (whither in this kind I intend my course, if the Muse faile me not) I shall leaue your whole British Empire, as this first and southerne part, delineated:

" To your Highnes
the most humbly
deuoted
" Michael Drayton."

Opposite to a very respectable portrait of the Prince of Wales are these lines:

" Britaine, behold here portray'd, to thy sight,
Henry, thy best hope, and the world's delight;

Ordain'd to make thy eight Great Henries, nine:
Who, by that vertue in the trebble Trine,
To his owne goodnesse (in his Being) brings
These seueral Glories of th' eight English Kings;
Deep Knowledge, Greatnes, long life, Policy.
Courage, Zeale, Fortune, awfull Maiestie.
He like great Neptune on three Seas shall roue,
And rule three Realmes, with triple power, like Joue;
Thus in soft Peace, thus in tempestuous Warres,
Till from his foote, his Fame shall strike the starres."

"All the workes of John Taylor the Water Poet being 63 in number, collected into one Volum by the author. With sundry new Additions, corrected revised and newly imprinted 1630."

The frontispiece to this book is an engraving on metal by T. Cockson; and according to Sir John Harrington, it must be one among the first done on copper. The words of the title are inscribed on a sail; above is the author's boat, with a passenger; and below, his portrait: the emblems are very properly all marine.

The friends of this son of the Thames were lavish in their praises of his productions.

"Wast

" Wast euer knowne to any time before,
That so much skill in Poesie could be,
Th' attendant to a skull, or painefull oare?
Thou liu'st in water, but the fire in thee;
That mounting Element, that made thee chuse,
To court *Vrania*, the diuinest Muse.
Row on: to watermen did neuer blow
A gale so good, none so much goodnesse know."

Thomas Brewer.

" In short, I hitherto haue told thy fame,
But now thy Muse doth merit greater Name
Soares high to Heau'n, from earth and water flies,
And leauing baser matters, mounts the skies.
Where hidden knowledge, she doth sweetly sing,
Carelesse of each inferiour common thing
Oh that my soule could follow her in this,
To shun fowle sin, and seeke eternall blisse!
Her strength growes great, and may God euer send
Me to amend my faults, as she doth mend."

Robert Branthwaite.

" It is disputed much among the wise,
If that there be a water in the skyes:
If there be one: no Water-man before,
Was euer knowne to row in't with his Oare.

If none; such is thy high surmounting pen
It soares above the strain of Watermen:
Whether there be or no, seeke farre and neere,
Th'art matchlesse sure in this our hemispheere."

William Branthwaite, Cant.

" Some till their throats ake cry aloud and hollo
To ancupate great fauors from Apollo,
One Bacchus and some other Venus vrges,
To blesse their brain-bats. Those cærulean surges
Gyrdling the earth, emball thy nerues, and season
Those animall parts, quick organs of mans reason,"
&c.

R. H.

" Row on (good Waterman) and looke back still,
(Thus as thou dost) vpon the Muses Hill,
To guide thee in thy course: Thy Boate's a sphære
Where thine Vrania moues diuinely cleare.
Well hast thou pli'd and (with thy learned Oare)
Cut through a Riuer, to a nobler shore,
Then euer any landed at. Thy saile,
(Made all of clowdes) swels with a prosprous gale.
Some say, there is a Ferriman of Hell,
The Ferriman of Heau'n, I now know well

And

And that's thyselfe, transporting soules to Blisse:
Vrania sits at Helme and Pilot is;
For Thames, thou hast the lactea via found
Be thou with baies (as that with stars) is crown'd."

Thomas Dekker.

Taylor notices the errors in his publication in verse: part of it follows as a specimen of his powers:

" Below the Moone no full perfection is,
And alwaies some of vs are all amisse.
Then in your reading mend each mis-plac'd letter,
And by your judgement make bad words sound better,
Where you may hurt, heale, where you can afflict,
There helpe and cure, or else be not too strict.
Looke through your fingers, wink, conniue at mee,
And (as you meet with faults) see, and not see.
Thus must my faults escape, (or escape neuer),
For which, good Readers, I am yours for euer.

John Taylor.

Eternall God, which in thine armes dost Graspe
All past, all present, and all future things:
And in ineuitable doome dost claspe
The liues and deaths of all that dyes and springs,

And

And at the doomefull day will once unhaspe
Th' accusing booke of Subjects and of Kings.
In whom though ending nor beginning be,
Let me (O Lord) beginne and end in thee."

The folio edition of Shakspeare's Plays, dated 1632, has the following title:

"Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories and Tragedies. Published according to the true Original Copies. The second Impression."

In this instance, an engraved portrait of Shakspeare, occupying the whole breadth of the page, and four-fifths of its height, is placed under the above words. Mr. Granger thought "this print gives us a truer representation of Shakspeare than several more pompous memorials of him; if the testimony of Ben Jonson may be credited, to whom he was personally known."

Had Martin Droeshout, the engraver of the plate, been capable of executing the mechanical part of his profession with neatness and freedom, we might have supposed him qualified to give the animation and vivacity which must have enlivened the features of our immortal Dramatist; but the slightest inspection of the *drapery* of this bust will convince the observer, that the vacant and stupid air of the face belongs to the artist, and not to the original.

Ben

Ben Jonson was a better judge of plays and men than of engravings; and this is demonstrated both by his own works, and the praises he has lavished on Master Droeshout.

This book has the ensuing peculiarities: On the first page are lines upon the effigies of my worthy friend, the author Master William Shakespeare and his works; and below them, an Epitaph on the admirable dramatic poet Mr. Shakespeare; the back of the leaf is blank.

The three next pages contain a dedication to the most noble and incomparable pair of brethren, William Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain, and Philip Earl of Montgomery, Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, and an address, To the great variety of readers, both signed John Heminge and Henry Condell; a second blank page occurs, and facing it are verses to the memory of the deceased author, by L. Digges; and others to the memory of Mr. W. Shakespeare, with the initials I. M.; a third blank follows; and then we are presented with a second title, closed by the names of the principal actors in all these plays; a fourth blank; and five pages occupied by other lines to the memory of my beloved the author, Mr. William Shakespeare, and what he hath left us, by Ben Jonson, the friendly effusions of I. M. S., and those of Hugh Holland.

It would be trespassing too much on the reader's patience to give the whole of these tributes to the memory of Shakespeare: an extract from each cannot be objected to.

" —— When thou find'st two contraries,
Two different passions from thy rapt soule rise,
Say, (who alone effect such wonders could)
Rare Shake-speare to the life thou dost behold.

Thou in our wonder and astonishment
Hast built thy selfe a lasting Monument:
For whil'st to th' shame of slow-endeavouring Art
Thy easie numbers flow, and that each part,
Hath from the leaves of thy unvalued booke,
Those Delphike Lines with deepe Impression tooke
Then thou our fancy of her selfe bereaving,
Dost make us Marble with too much conceiving,
And so Sepulcher'd in such pompe dost lie
That Kings for such a Tombe would wish to die."

" —— This booke
When Brasse and Marble fade, shall make thee
looke
Fresh to all Ages: when Posteritie
Shall loath what's new, thinke all is prodigie
That

That is not Shakespeares; ev'ry line, each Verse
Here shall revive, redeeme thee from thy Herse.
Nor fire, nor cankring age, as Naso said,
Of his, thy wit-fraught booke shall once invade."

Digges.

"An Actors art,
Can dye, and live, to act a second Part.
Thats but an *Exit* of Mortality;
This a Re-entrance to a Plaudite."

I. M.

"Sweet Swan of Avon! what a sight it were
To see thee in our water yet appeare,
And make those flights upon the bankes of *Thames*,
That so did take Eliza, and our James!
But stay, I see thee in the *Hemisphere*
Advanc'd, and made a Constellation there!
Shine forth, thou Starre of *Poets*, and with rage,
Or influence, hide, or cheere the drooping Stage;
Which, since thy flight from hence, hath mourn'd
like night.
And despaires day, but for thy volumes light."

Ben Jonson.

"Death may destroy
They say his body, but his verse shall live
And more then nature takes, our hands shall give

In

In a lesse volumne, but more strongly bound
Shakespeare shall breath and speake, with Laurell
crown'd.
Which never fades. Fed with Ambrosian meate
In a well-lyned vesture rich and neate.
So with this robe they cloath him, bid him weare it.
For time shall never staine, nor envy teare it."

I. M. S.

" If Tragedies might any Prologue have,
All those he made, would scarce make one to this:
Where *Fame*, now that he gone is to the Grave
(Death's publique Tyring-house) the Nuncius is.
For though his line of life went soone about,
The Life yet of his Lines shall never out."

Hugh Holland.

" Orlando Furioso, in English heroical verse, by Sir John Harrington, &c. 1634." The title-page is engraved on metal, and is wretched enough. The author dedicates his work to Queen Elizabeth, and enquires, " If your Highnesse will read it, who dare reject it? if allow it, who can reprove it? if protect it, what *Momus* barking, or *Zoilus* biting, can any way hurt or annoy it?"

A preface, or rather a brief apology of poetry, and of the author and translator of this poem, succeeds;

succeeds; and then "An advertisement to the reader before he read this poeme, of some things to be observed as well in the substance of this work, as also in the setting forth thereof, with the use of the pictures, table, and annotations, to the same annexed." A paragraph of the latter will serve my purpose precisely, as illustrating the state of engravings for books when Sir John published Orlando.

"As for the pictures, they are all cut in brasse, and most of them by the best workmen in that kind, that have bin in this land this many yeares: Yet I will not praise them too much, because I gave direction for their making, and in regard thereof, I may be thought partiall; but this I may truly say, that (for mine own part) I have not seene any made in England better, nor (indeed) any of this kind in any book, except it were a treatise set forth by that profound man master Broughton the last yeare, upon the Revelation, in which there are some three or four prettie pictures (in octavo) cut in brasse very workmanly. As for other bookes that I have seene in this Realme, either in Latine or English with pictures, as Livie, Gesner, Alciats emblemes, a book de Spectris in Latine, and in our tongue the Chronicles, the book of Martyres, the booke of hauking and hunting, and M. Whitney's excellent Emblemes, yet all their figures are cut in wood, and

and none in metall, and in that respect inferiour to these, at least (by the olde proverbe) the more cost the more worship. The use of the picture is evident, which is, that (having read over the booke) you may reade it (as it were againe) in the very picture; and one thing is to be noted, which every one (haply) will not observe, namely the perspective in every figure. For the personages of men, the shapes of heroes, and such like, are made large at the bottom, and lesser upward, as if you were to behold all the same in a plaine, that which is nearest seemes gratest, and the fardest shewes smallest, which is the chiefe art in picture."

Sir John has contrived to give in one plate the whole incidents of a book; and although he has strictly adhered to the rule of reduction in his figures, the veriest pigmy in it advances as near the spectator as the giants of the foreground; besides, he has been so attentive to the earthly scenes of the work, that he rejects the horizon in most cases; but, in order to prevent all mistakes, he introduces the names of his heroes and heroines under each figure.

" Orlando thrust Gradasso in the side
About the ribs, as he before him stood
The sword came forth a span on tother side
And to the hilt was varnisht all with blood

By

By that same thrust alone it might be trid
That he that gave it was a warrior goode
That with one thrust did vanquish and subdue
The stoutest champion of the Turkish crew."

Orlando.

Epigram by Sir J. H.

" One of King Henries Favourites began,
To move the King one day to take a man,
Whom of his Chambers he might make a groom,
Soft said the King, before I grant that room,
It is a question not to be neglected,
How he in his religion stands affected.
For his Religion, answered then the Minion
I do not certaine know whats his opinion
But sure he may, talking with men of learning,
Conform himself in lesse than ten days warning."

" The Arcadian Princesse : or, the trivmph of Ivstice. Priscribing excellent rules of Physicke, for a sick Justice. digested into fowre bookes and faithfully rendred to the originall Italian copy. By Ri. Brathwait Esq. 1635."

This translator has whimsically observed on the page opposite to the frontispiece :

" Hee

" Hee that in words explaines a Frontispiece,
Betrayes the secret trust of his Device:
Who cannot guesse, where Mott's and Emblemes be,
The drift, may still bee ignorant for me."

His work is dedicated to the Earl of Worcester, " all correspondance to his recollected'st thoughts. Sir," he proceeds, " I have heere sent you an Italian plant, translated to an English platte: whose flower will not appeare halfe so delightfull to your smelling as the fruit will become usefull for preserving. You shall here meet with an Author walking in an un-beat path. One, who discurtains the vices of that Time so smoothly, though smartly, as his continued Allegorie pleads his Apologie. A right Italian wit shal your honour find him, quick and spritely: and of eminent race and ranke in his country. And it is my joy, to addresse a worke so richly interveined with straines of wit and iudgement, to one, whom descent and desert have equally ennobled; and who with so cleare and discerning a spirit can iudge of it. Now, if this new dresse doe not become him, all that I can say in mine owne defence is this, and no other; there is great difference betwixt Taylor and Translator:" sure I am, that the loom is the same, if not the lustre; the stuffe the same, though not the colour:

Wherein

Wherein He freely appeals to your Censure, who hath profest himselfe, &c.

"R. Brathwait."

The translation printed for Benjamin Fisher in Aldersgate-street, 1635, of "Camden's Annales; or the history of the most renowned and victorious Princess Elizabeth, late Queen of England," has a frontispiece and title-page, which are curious illustrations of the custom of the times in literary matters.

The portrait is a half-length of the Queen, surrounded by clouds, a nimbus beams behind her, and a circle of stars are suspended over her head. She is dressed in the most extravagant ornaments, and holds a fan composed of feathers in her right hand: the arms of England are near her head.

The title-page consists of a basement, six composite pillars, a frieze, and pediment; the latter has "Cadiz in Spain ransacked by the earl of Essex and Nottingham. Anno 1596; and St. John of Portarico taken from the Spaniard by the earl of Cumberland," represented on it: a phœnix rises from flames on the apex of the pediment, and the rose and crown with "semper eadem" fills the tympan; the intercolumniation holds the title; and wreaths of laurel and palm twined round the pillars make circles for shields of arms, and the names of those who bore them, 30

in

in number; 7 others are placed on the cornice of the basement, and a map of South America fills a recess beneath it.

On the left is the burning of the Armada thus inscribed, "In the straits of Gibraltar was the invincible navy pretended, prevented and burned by Drake, 1587;" and on the right, "Albion's comfort, Iberia's terror. The famous overthrow of the Spanish navy the 30th year of the Q. R." Both these plates are neatly engraved.

"To the honourable Reverend and Right Worshipful Sir John Branston Knight Lord chief Justice of his Majesty's Bench Sir William Jones Sir George Crooke Sir Robert BarcKley Knights the learned Judges of that Court.

"Licence me (I beseech your Reverend fatherhoods) with the contrite penitent: Ingeniously to acknowledge my error, which is over much presumption in undertaking, more in publishing, but most in thus presenting this my collection: But withal to appeal from the bar of rigour, to the board of favour, and thereat to obtain this extenuation of censure; that being it was begun with a good intent, prosecuted to a seeming good end, and is now in all befitting humbleness presented to procure protection, that I may pass without publick reprehension: And sithence words and writing are not real according as they are spoke or writ, but as they are approved by others:

others: Let noble dispositions but make a favourable exposition of what is done: And then I am confident I shall untouched pass the pikes of scorn and reproof; In earnest expectation whereof, humble and hearty prayers to God, the giver of all good gifts for your long lives, in health and hearts ease here, and sempiternal happiness hereafter, shall not want daily to be poured out by him that hourly rests

"Your Lordships reallest in all service and duty

"JOHN TRUSSELL."

"April 24. 1635 Perlegi hoc opus Hystoricum duobus voluminibus comprehensum, cui titulus, A continuation of the collection of the history of England, &c. quod quidem in toto continet folia 418. aut circiter, in quibus nihil reperio sanæ doctrinæ, aut bonis moribus contrarium, quo minùs cum utilitate publica imprimi possit: Sub ea tamen conditione, ut si non intra triennium typis mandetur hæc licentia sit omnino irrita.

"GULIELMUS HAYWOOD CAPELL. dom.
"R. R. P. Archiep. Cant."

Milton's Lycidas, 1637.

"Return *Alpheus*, the dread voice is past,
That shrunk thy streams; Return *Sicilian* Muse,
And call the Vales, and bid them hither cast
Their Bells, and Flourets of a thousand hues.

Ye Valleys low where the mild whispers use,
Of shades and wanton winds, and gushing brooks,
On whose fresh lap the swart Star sparely looks,
Throw hither all your quaint enamell'd eyes,
That on the green terf suck the honied showres,
And purple all the ground with vernal flowres
Bring the rathe Primrose that forsaken dies,
The tufted Crow-toe, and pale Gessamine,
The White Pink, and the Pansie freakt with jeat,
The Musk-rose, and the well attir'd Woodbine,
With Cowslips wan that hang the pensive head,
And every flower that sad embroidery wears:
Bid Amarantus all his beauty shed,
And Daffadillies fill their Cups with tears,
To strew the Laureat Herse where *Lycid* lies."

"Recreations with the Muses by William earl of Sterline 1637." The border surrounding this title is remarkably laboured, ingenious, and, in some parts, elegant. Fourteen stanzas are addressed to his Sacred Majesty: the following is the last:

"Vnto the Ocean of thy worth I send
Those runnels, rising from a rash attempt;
Not that I to augment that depth pretend,
Which Heavens from all necessitie exempt

The

The Gods small gifts of zealous mindes commend,
While Hecatombes are holden in contempt:
So (Sir) I offer at your vertues shrine
This little incense, or this smoke of mine."

Beneath are extracts from complimentary lines to the author:

"Well may the programme of thy Tragicke stage
Invite the curious pompe-expecting eyes
To gaze on present shewes of passed age,
Which just desert Monarchicke dare baptize," &c.

S. Robert Ayton.

"—— Whom Sophocles, Euripides have song,
And Æschylus in stately Tragicke tune:
Yet none of all hath so divinely done
As matchlesse Menstrie in his native tongue,
Thus Darius Ghost seemes glad now to be so,
Triumpht on twise by Alexanders two."

Jo. Murray.

"Du Bartas, his Divine weeks and works with a complete collection of all the other most delightful works translated and written by that famous Philomusus Joshuah Sylvester Gent: 1641."

This book seems to be the very extreme and essence of the prevailing customs of compliment-

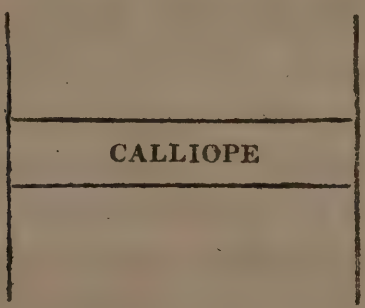
ing and recommending authors in the reign of James I., and many years after. The variety it offers requires illustration; and particularly as it makes a surprising contrast to the present simple mode of sending works to their fate. Indeed, a modern reviewer would have expended all his ire ere he had demolished the pallisades and fascines, and Master Sylvester must have escaped through the exhausted state of the critic.

We have, in the first place, a portrait of Sylvester by Cornelius *v.* Dalen, with six well written lines, by John Vicars; and an engraved title-page, with globes and compartments, from Scripture subjects. The typographical part begins with Anagrammata Regia: Regi. Jacobus Stuart: Juste Scrutabo.

In this he sports with the words, "A just master," till he concludes James to be one, and declares his readinesse to serve him justly: two other addresses in French and Italian verse follow. He then proceeds with five folio pages of verses, or "Corona Dedicatoria;" each containing two copies: printed in the form of pedestals, and including the name of a muse in the plinth, thus:

Great

Great King of *England*, Christian *Faith's* Defender;
No selfe—presuming of my Witt's perfection
(In what is mine of this Divine Confection)
Boldens mee thus to you the same to tender:
But with the rest, the Best I have to render
For Loyall Witnesse of my glad affection,
My MITE I offer
To Your High Protection;



Which MORE *it needs*
The more it selfe is slender.
But, for mine AUTHOR, in his sacred furie,
I know your Highnes knows him Prince of Singers,
And His rare Workes worthy Your Royal fingers
(Though here His lustre too-too much obscure I):
For His sake therefore, and Your Selfes Benignitie,
Accept my ZEALE, and pardon mine Indignitie.

YOUR

YOUR MAJESTIES

Most loyal subject

And

Humble Servant

JOSUAH SYLVESTER.

The contents succeed; then a portrait of the author, in wood, with lines in French and English beneath it; which is followed by His life in verse, by Vicars; and on another page, the Printer to the Reader, an address in prose. A pyramid of words occupy another page, beginning with the word England, and spreading at the base to "This have I muddled, as my Muse was able;" opposite, a tablet with pilasters and arch, entitled, "Indignis;" which, I apprehend, was addressed to the *reviewers* of the day, and may possibly be acceptable to the present race of critics:

"Hence profane Hands, Factors for Hearts profane:
Hence hissing *Atheists*, Hellish Misse Creants:
Hence Buzzard Kites, dazled with Beauties glance:
Hence itching Eares, with Toyes and Tales uptane:

Hence

Hence Green-sick Wits, that rellish nought but bane:
Hence dead-live Idiots, drown'd in Ignorance:
Hence wanton *Michols,* that deride my dame:
Hence *Mimicke* Apes, vaine *Follies* Counterpane:

Hence prying *Criticks,* carping past your Skill:
Hence dull Conceipts, that have no true Discerning:
Hence envious *Momes,* converting good to Ill:
Hence all at once, that lack (or love not) LEARNING:
Hence All un-holy, from the *Worlds Birth* Feast:
Urania's Grace brooks no unworthy Gueste."

Another tablet, divested of the mourning emblems of the Indignis. In this case Optimis, has the word Welcome at the beginning of each line; and concludes,

" Sit downe (I pray) and taste of every Dish:
If ought mis-like you, better Cooke I wish."

Ten pages more are occupied with epigrams, sonnets, addresses, and acrosticks, commending the translator Master Sylvester; amongst which is the following by Ben Jonson:

" If

" If to admire were to command, my praise
Might then both Thee, thy Work and Merit raise
But, as it is (the Childe of Ignorance,
And utter stranger to all ayre of France,)
How can I speake of thy great paines, but erre,
Since they can only judge, that can confer?
Behold! the reverend shade of Bartas stands
Before my thought, and (in thy right) commands
That to the World I publish, for him, This;
Bartas *doth wish thy* English *now were His*:
So well in that are his inventions wrought,
As his will now be the *Translation* thought,
Thine the *Originall;* and *France* shall boast,
No more, those mayden glories shee hath lost."

" An history of the civil wars of England, between the two houses of Lancaster and York. The original whereof is set down in the life of Richard II.; their proceedings, in the lives of Henry IV. V. and VI. Edward IV. and V. Richard III. and Henry VII. in whose days they had a happy period. Written in Italian in three volumes by Sir Francis Biondi Knight gentleman of the Privy chamber to his Majesty of Great Britain. Englished by the Right honourable Henry earl of Monmouth in two volumes 1641."

" The

"The Translators epistle to the readers his countrymen.

"That translations are at the best but like the wrong side of Hangings, is granted. Yet he who cannot get to see the right side, may by the other guess at the story therein represented. This of mine may yet seem to be of a worse condition; as only the reducing back to our own language that which hath been collected from our home stories, and published in a foreign tongue; so as it may almost be termed the turning into English, what was turned out of English. But the author hath had his end: the making the valour and honour of our kingdom known to his own countrymen; for which we owe him a national thanks. I have chosen this way to pay mine, by affording you all a means how to acknowledge yours, and thus I have part of my end likewise. The remainder being my observance of his desires and the shunning of spending my time worse. The Italian saith, Chi non puo quel che voule, quel che puo voglia. If I could coin any thing out of my own brain, worthy of my countrymen, they should have it: since not, let them accept of this piece of gold changed into silver, and therein of the good will of their compatriot

MOUNMOUTH."

"Theophila, or Love's sacrifice. A Divine Poem written by E. Benlowes Esq. 1652."

Amongst

Amongst the various singularities of this book, the most conspicuous are the "Verses to my fancie upon Theophila." Six lines compose each stanza, and the first letter of the first line of each is formed of human figures, placed in positions resembling letters. Some of our inferior print-sellers furnish their customers with engravings of this kind; but the work alluded to is, without doubt, one of the first attempts of this description in England, connected with a subject of so much importance.

Jeremiah Collier, M. A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, wrote a friend's echo to his Fancie upon Sacrata; which is too long for insertion, and ends thus:

"Fond sense, cry up a rosie skin,
Sacrata rosy'd is within:
But brighter *Theophil* behold
Whose vest is wrought with purfled gold.
Loves self in her his flame embeams
Loves *sacrifice* Zeals Rapture seems.
Of Paradise before the Fall
This Saint is emblematicall
Then, Fancie, give Her due Renown,
She's Queen of Arts; This Book, her Crown.
Sacrata turns Castara unto us,
And Benlowes (Anagramm'd) Benevolus."

Walter

Walter Montague Com. Manch. Filius. gives

"A verdict for the pious Sacrificer."

"To *shine* and *light*, not *scorch* thy Muse did aim:
And so hath rais'd this Quintessential Flame.
By th' Salt, and Whiteness of her Lines, We think
With *holy water* (Tears) She mixt her Ink.
And both the *Fire* and *Food* of this chast *Muse*
Is more what *Altars*, than what Tables use.
Who does not pray with *Zeal* thy *Faith* may move,
Rightly concentrick with thy *Hope* and *Love*.
So, in the *Temple* these religious *Hosts*
From *Hecatombs* may rise to *Holocausts*."

Sir W. Dennie, Baronet, contributed upon this occasion. Take one stanza, and be satisfied.

"No Tigers Whelp with blood-besmear'd Jaws,
No Cub of Bears, lickt into shape,
No lustfull offspring of the *Ape*,
No muskie *Panther* with close guileful Claws,
No durtie gruntling of the *Swine*,
No *Lions* Whelp of êre so high design,
Is *offer'd* here: Keep off Unclean! Here's all *divine*."

Sir

Sir William D'Avenant dilated upon the excellence of this poet at considerable length, and says,

"Noiselesse as Planets move, thy *Numbers* flow,
And soft as Lovers Whispers when they woo!
Thy labour'd *Thoughts* with Ease thou dost dispence,
Clothing in Mayden dresse a Manly Sence.
And as in narrow room *Elixir* lies;
So in a little thou dost much comprise."

For instance:

XLVII.

Oaks, that dare grapple with Heav'n's Thunder sink
All shiver'd; *Coals* that scorch do shrink
To Ashes; Vap'ring *Snuffs* expire in noysom stink.

XLVIII.

Time, strip the writhel'd *Witch*; Pluck the black Bags
From off *Sins* grizly Scalp; the *Hags*
Plague-sores shew then more loathsom than her leprous Rags.

The Prolibation to Loves Sacrifice.

"Poems and Fancies written by the Right Honourable the lady Margaret Countesse of Newcastle 1653."

The

The lady Margaret dedicated her book to Sir Charles Cavendish, her brother-in-law, in these words: "I do here dedicate this my Work unto you, not that I think my Book is worthy such a Patron, but that such a Patron may gaine my Book a respect, and Esteeme in the World, by the favour of your Protection. True it is, Spinning with the Fingers is more proper to our Sexe, then studying or writing Poetry, which is the Spinning with the braine: but I having no skill in the Art of the first (and if I had, I had no hopes of gaining so much as to make me a Garment to keep me from the cold) made me delight in the latter; since all braines work naturally and incessantly, in some kind or other; which made me endeavour to Spin a Garment of Memory, to lapp up my Name, that it might grow to after Ages: I cannot say the Web is strong, fine, or evenly Spun, for it is a course piece; yet I had rather my Name should go meanly clad, then dye with cold; but if the Sute be trimmed with your Favour, she may make such a shew, and appeare so lovely, as to wed to a Vulgar Fame," &c.

The Countess writes to all noble and worthy ladies, an epistle to Mrs. Toppe, which is answered; she next appeals to Natural Philosophers, to the Reader; gives the Poetesses hasty resolution, the Poetesses Petition; and lastly, she makes "An excuse for so much writ upon my verses."

"Condemne

" Condemne me not for making such a coyle
About my Book, alas it is my Childe.
Just like a Bird, when her young are in Nest,
Goes in, and out, and hops, and takes no Rest;
But when their young are fledg'd, their heads out peep,
Lord what a chirping does the old one keep.
So I, for feare my strengthlesse Childe should fall
Against a doore, or stoole, aloud I call,
Bid have a care of such a dangerous place:
Thus write I much, to hinder all disgrace."

Arthur Wilson, Esq. author of the history of Great Britain, being the life and reign of King James the First, which he published in 1653, gives his readers a Proeme containing many philippics against crowned heads.

The introductory paragraphs are amusing, and sufficiently inflated.—" I am not ignorant, or insensible, from what *Precipice*, and into what *Gulf* I am falling; not like one in a dream, who starts at the *horrour* of the *Object*, which his own *Imagination* creates: But deeply affected with those serious and real impressions, which *Time* and *Experience* (the two great *Luminaries of Reason)* have fixt upon me. Methinks I see the various, cloudy, and sad distorted Fancies of these *Times* (that flutter up and down betwixt the

the *Twi-light* of *Ignorance*, and *Self-conceitedness)* bandy themselves against this *Work*; led on by *Prejudice*, which they muster up, and gather together, haply from the *dross* of those *Fragments*, or *Vapours* of *Story*, that (light crude and undigested Matter) have something tainted that precious *Order*, which *Truth* (the *Commandress* of the *Soul)* loves to appear, and be admired in," &c.

This gentleman adds "The author's picture, drawn by himself:"

"As others print their pictures, I will place
My mind in Frontispiece, plain as my face."

After he has done so, in lines quite as polished as the preceding, he concludes,

"Now my great trouble is, that I have shewn
Other men's faults, with so many of my own."

James Howell addressed a letter to William Sanderson, Esq. on his publishing "A complete history of the life and reign of King Charles from his cradle to his Grave;" which is prefixed to the work dated 1658. This gentleman says, "History may be well called the great arbitress of time and truth, a tribunal that summons the dead to judgement, and a court of Record to the living; therefore among those industrious, who by their speculations, and publick writings, do deserve well of

of their country, an Historian may march with the foremost, I mean a knowing and faithful veridical historian, whereas an ignorant, and false erroneous Chronicler is one of the worst members that can be in a commonwealth, and indeed of Mankind in general, for he wrongs the time past, the time present, and the time to come."

"The Lusiad, or Portugal's Historical Poem: Written in the Portingall Language by Luis de Camoens; and now newly put into English by Richard Fanshaw Esq. 1655.

The dedication is printed precisely as follows:

"To the Right Honorable William Earl of Strafford, &c.

"My good Lord

"I can *not* tell how your Lordship may take it, that in so *uncourted a language*, as *that* of PORTUGALL, should be found extant a *Poet* to rival your beloved TASSO, how *himself* took it, I *can*; for he was heard to say (his great JERUSALEM being then an *Embrio)* HE FEARED NO MAN BUT CAMOEN; Notwithstanding which, he bestowed a *Sonet* in his praise. But, admitting the *Tuscan* Superior; yet, as *He* (with some anger) of GUARINI, when he saw, by the unquestionable *Verdict* of all ITALY, so famous a LAUREATE as *himself* by that man's PASTOR FIDO outstript in the *Dramatick* way of *Poetry*; SE NON HAUTO VISTO IL MIO AMINTA —— (because indeed the *younger*, for

for a *Lift* in this kind, was *beholding* to the Elder): So, and for the same cause, might my *Portingall* have retorted upon *Him*, with reference to his own *Epick* way; If He Had Not Seen My Lusiad, He Had Not Excell'd It.

"Since then I find, Horace, in the days of old, held himself accountable to *his* potent friend Lollio, for the *profits* of those vacant hours, which *he* past in his *proper Villa* whilst Lollio lay *Lodger* in Rome about that which was the greatest *Domestick glory* of the Roman Nobilitie of those Times;

"*Trojani belli Scriptorem, maxime Lolli,*
Dum Tu declamas Romæ, Præneste relegi

Whilst thou (Great Lollio) in Rome dost plead,
I, in Præneste, have all Homer Read:

"How much more obliged am *I* to bring unto your Lordship this Treasure-Trove, which (as to the second *life*, or rather *Being*, it hath from me in the *English Tongue)* is so truly a *Native* of Yorkshire, and *holding* of your *Lordship*, that, from the hour I began it, to the end thereof, I slept not once out of these *Walls?*

"And if the same Horace proceed;

Qui, quid sit pulchrum, quid Turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenius ac melius Chrysippo & Crantore, dicit:

Who, what is *Right*, what *not*, what *brave*, what *base*,

Cleaner and *better* then the STOICKS, says:

Et, quam vis plebeio tectus Amictu,

Indocilis privata loqui."

"Whether this *Poet* also, (however *dis-figured* in the translation, yet still retaining the old *materials*, both *Politicall* and *Moral*, on a truer and more *Modern Frame of Story* and *Geography* than that of HOMER,) shall not be valuable upon the like account, I appeal to your Lordship, whose *devoted* (since he turned *Englishman)* he *is*, by the *title* I have already mentioned and by as many more, as I am, &c.

"RICHARD FANSHAW."

"From your Lordships Park of Tankersley,
May 1. 1655."

"Butler's Hudibras," 1657, &c.

"There is a tall long-sided Dame,
(But wondrous light) ycleped Fame
That like a thin *Camelion* boards
Her self on Air, and eats her words:
Upon her shoulders wings she wears,
Like hanging-slieves, lin'd through with Ears,
And Eyes, and Tongues, as Poets list,
Made good by deep *Mythologist*.

With

With these she through the Welkin flies,
And sometimes carries *Truth*, oft *Lyes*;
With Letters hung like *Eastern* Pigeons,
And *Mercurius* of farthest Regions;
Diurnals writ for Regulation
Of Lying, to enform the Nation;
And by their Publick use to bring down
The rate of *Whetstones* in the Kingdom:
About her neck a Packet *Male*
Fraught with Advice, some fresh, some stale,
Of Men that walk'd when they were dead,
And *Cows* of Monsters brought to bed;
Of *Hailstones* big as *Pullets* Eggs,
And Puppies whelp'd with twice two Legs;
A *Blasing-Star* seen in the *West*,
By six or seven Men at least:
Two Trumpets she does sound at once,
But both of clean contrary tones,
But whether both with the same Wind,
Or one before, and one behind,
We know not, only this can tell,
The one sounds vilely, th' other well;
And therefore vulgar *Authors* name
Th' one Good, the other evil *Fame*."

Dr. John Everard's Gospel Treasury opened, published in 1659, is dedicated by Rapha Harford "To all those who are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be Saints, both babes, strong men and fathers (who through the power of Christ in them) have attained to esteem it their wisdom and glory to be despised and accounted fools by the world for his sake and the Gospels: whose knowledge wisdom and gifts hath made them not Great and Something (according to the custom of the world) but Little, yea Nothing in their own esteem, who notwithstanding are the true Offspring of God, the only Right Wise and Honourable with him, and the Excellent upon Earth, Grace and Peace be multiplied. To such only are these Sermons dedicated (they knowing what these things mean) but not to the great and wise men of this world."

This volume has many pages of dedication, of which the above extract is a specimen. An Approbation, signed Thomas Brooks, M. Barker; An Imprimatur, Joseph Caril, Dec. 6, 1652; and two Testimonies by John Webster and John Cardel; An Address to the reader by R. Harford; and two copies of verses, suggested each by the Doctor's portrait: one stanza of the first will answer for the present purpose:

"For this lov'd flesh, where with yet cloth'd we go
Is not the same we had few years ago;

But

But rather Something, which is taken in
To serve instead of what hath wasted been,
In wounds, in sicknesses, in colds and heats
In all excrescions and in fumes and sweats."

"The works of Mr. Abraham Cowley, &c. 1660," &c.

"It is a hard and nice Subject for a Man to write of himself; it grates his own heart to say any thing of disparagement, and the Readers Ears to hear any thing of praise from him. There is no danger from me of offending him in this kind; neither my Mind, nor my Body, nor my Fortune, allow me any materials for that Vanity. It is sufficient, for my own contentment, that they have preserved me from being scandalous, or remarkable on the defective side."

The following lines were written when Cowley was but thirteen, and he quotes them at mature age as such as he "should hardly (then) be much ashamed."

"This only grant me that my means may lye
Too low for Envy, for contempt too high.
Some honour I would have
Not from great deeds, but good alone.
Th' unknown are better than ill known.
Rumour can ope' the Grave.
Acquaintance I would have, but when't depends
Not on the Number, but the choice of Friends."

"The

"The second Punick War between Hannibal and the Romanes; the whole 17 books englished from the Latine of Silius Italicus &c. &c. By Thomas Ross Esq. 1661." This splendid book has an engraved and a printed title-page; the latter in red and black ink, as was customary both before and after this period. I shall give Mr. Ross's dedication to the King, and the verses under a portrait of Ch. II., which will serve as strong specimens of fervent loyalty to a Monarch who had just before been proscribed by his subjects.

"Your Majesties most Gracious Acceptance of this Poëm, when it wanted all Ornament, both of the Press and Pencil, hath Emboldened Me to this second Address, most humbly imploring, that, as Your Goodness was then both to It, and Me, the only Refuge from the Tyranny of the Times; You will, now, be pleased to protect Us, from the Envy of this censuring Age, in the Sanctuary of your Name, which will make this Copy as Immortal, as its Original, and fix on it a Character, as Indelible, as the Faith and Obedience of," &c.

"Could Hannibal, and Scipio, in whom
All the vast Hopes of Carthage, and of Rome,
Were fix'd, Revive, and see how eas'ly You,
By your sole Vertue, Kingdoms can Subdue;

How

How from the Rage of War, without the Stain
Of Blood, You Sacred Crowns, and Tryumphs gain
They would no more contend, who best might claim
Priority ; but yield it to Your Name.
Rome would her Gen'ral, Carthage Hers refuse,
And jointly You the World's Commander chuse."

" Comedies and Tragedies written by Thomas Killigrew Page of honour to King Charles I. and Groom of the Bed chamber to King Charles II. 1664.

" To the Reader,

" I shall only say, If you have as much leasure to Read as I had to Write these Plays, you may, as I did, find a diversion; though I wish it you upon better terms than Twenty Years Banishment Yours,

" Tho. Killigrew."

" Poems by the most deservedly admired Mrs. Katharine Philips, the Matchless Orinda." The genuine edition of this book, 1669, published five years after the lady's death, has a very beautiful engraving of her bust by Faithorne prefixed. Several of the most eminent persons of the time sent her verses which precede her Poems.

The

The Earl of Orrery observes to her,

" When I but knew you by report,
I fear'd the praises of th' admiring Court
Were but their Complements, but now I must
Confess, what I thought civil is scarce just:
For they imperfect Trophies to you raise,
You deserve wonder, and they pay but praise;
A praise, which is as short of your great due,
As all which yet have writ come short of you:
You to whom wonder's paid by double right,
Both for your verses smoothness and their height,"
&c.

The Earl of Roscommon to Orinda: an imitation of Horace.

5.

" Leave me upon some Lybian plain,
So she my fancy entertain,
And when the thirsty Monsters meet,
They'll all pay homage to my feet.

6.

The Magick of Orinda's Name,
Not only can their fierceness tame,
But, if that mighty word I once rehearse,
They seem submissively to roar in Verse."

Cowley

Cowley endeavours, and by no means unsuccessfully, to surpass his competitors in panegyric. The fourth stanza, "Upon Mrs. K. Philips her Poems," is as follows:

"They talk of Nine, I know not who,
Female Chimæras, that or'e Poets reign;
I ne're could find that Fancy true,
But have invok'd them oft I'm sure in vain.
They talk of Sappho, but, Alas the shame!
Ill manners soil the lustre of her fame.
Orinda's inward virtue is so bright,
That, like a Lantern's fair enclosed light,
It through the Paper shines where she doth write
Honour and Friendship, and the gen'rous scorn
Of things for which we were not born,
(Things that can only by a fond disease,
Like that of Girls our vicious stomacks please)
Are the instructive subjects of her Pen.
And as the Roman Victory
Taught our rude Land Arts, and civility,
At once she overcomes, enslaves, and betters men."

James Tyrrell observes,

"For were not Nature partial to us Men,
The World's great order had inverted been,

Had

Had she such Souls plac'd in all Woman-kind,
Giv'n 'um like wit, not with like goodness join'd
Our vassal Sex to hers had homage paid;
Woman had rul'd the World, and weaker men
obey'd."

Mrs. Philips must now speak for herself, in order to support her reputation, exalted as we find it above:

On the Welsh Language.

"For 'twas in that, the sacred Bards of old,
In deathless numbers did their thoughts unfold.
In Groves, by Rivers, and on fertile plains,
They civiliz'd and taught the listning Swains;
Whilst with high raptures, and as great success,
Virtue they cloath'd in Musick's charming dress."

"Five new plays &c. Written by the Honourable Sir Robert Howard, 2d edit. 1692." Portrait by R. White, after Kneller. This folio has nothing more than an Address to the reader. "There is none more sensible than I am (says Sir Robert) how great a Charity the most Ingenious may need, that expose their private Wit to a publick Judgment; since the same Phancy from whence the Thoughts proceed, must probably be kind to its own Issue: This renders Men no perfecter Judges of their own Writings, than Fathers are of their own

own Children; who find out that Wit in them which another discerns not, and see not those Errors which are evident to the unconcern'd. Nor is this self-kindness more fatal to Men in their Writings, than in their Actions; every Man being a greater Flatterer to himself than he knows how to be to another, otherwise it were impossible that things of such distant Natures shou'd find their own Authors so equally kind in their affections to them, and Men so different in Parts and Virtues, should rest equally contented in their own Opinions."

"Miscellaneous Poems by Andrew Marvell Esq. late member of the Honourable House of Commons 1681." This book came into the world without any other recommendation than his widow's certificate of the authenticity of the contents.

"When I beheld the Poet, blind, yet bold,
In slender Book his vast Design unfold,
Messiah crown'd, God's Reconcil'd Decree,
Rebelling Angels, the Forbidden Tree,
Heav'n, Hell, Earth, Chaos, All; the Argument
Held me a while misdoubting his Intent,
That he would ruine (for I saw him strong)
The sacred Truths to Fable and old Song

(So

(So Sampson groap'd the Temple's Posts in spight)
The World ore'whelming to revenge his Sight.
Yet as I read, soon growing less severe,
I lik'd his Project"——

Part of the lines on Mr. Milton's Paradise Lost.

"The Works of Mr. John Dryden. Adorned with a Hundred Sculptures," 1701, 3d edit.; many of which are well engraved. The first portion of the author's Address to Lord Clifford follows.

"I have found it not more difficult to Translate *Virgil*, than to find such Patrons as I desire for my Translation. For though *England* is not wanting in a learned Nobility, yet such are my unhappy Circumstances, that they have confined me to a narrow choice. To the greater part, I have not the Honour to be known; and to some of them I cannot shew at present, by any publick Act, that grateful Respect which I shall ever bear them in my heart. Yet I have no reason to complain of Fortune, since in the midst of that abundance I could not possibly have chosen better, than the Worthy Son of so Illustrious a Father. He was the Patron of my Manhood, when I Flourish'd in the opinion of the World; though with small advantage to my Fortune, 'till he awaken'd the remembrance of my Royal Master. He was that *Pollio*, or that *Varus*, who introduced me

me to *Augustus*: And tho' he soon dismiss'd himself from State-affairs, yet in the short time of his Administration he shone so powerfully upon me, that like the heat of a *Russian*-Summer, he ripen'd the Fruits of Poetry in a cold Clymate; and gave me wherewithal to subsist at least, in the long Winter which succeeded."

The custom of presenting authors with copies of verses was not discontinued when Dryden's works appeared in this form; and the fourth volume contains a list of contributors "to the cuts of Virgil," amounting to 101, who each gave five guineas.

"Arms, and the Man I sing, who forc'd by Fate,
And haughty *Juno's* unrelenting Hate;
Expell'd and exil'd, left the *Trojan* Shoar:
Long Labours, both by Sea and Land he bore;
And in the doubtful War, before he won
The *Latian* Realm, and built the destin'd Town:
His banish'd Gods restor'd to Rites Divine,
And setl'd sure Succession in his Line:
From whence the Race of *Alban* Fathers come,
And the long Glories of Majestick Rome."

Gay's Rural Sports, 1713.

"What Happiness the Rural Maid attends
In chearful Labour while each day she spends!

She

She gratefully receives what Heav'n has sent,
And, rich in Poverty, enjoys Content:
Upon her Cheek a pure Vermillion glows,
And all her Beauty she to Nature owes;
(Such Happiness, and such a constant Frame,
Ne'er glads the Bosom of the Courtly Dame.)
She never feels the Spleen's imagin'd Pains,
Nor Melancholy stagnates in her Veins;
She never loses Life in thoughtless Ease,
Nor on a downy Couch invites Disease;
Her dress in a clean simple Neatness lies,
No glaring Equipage excites her sighs;
Her Reputation, which she values most,
Is ne'er in a Malicious Visit lost:
No Midnight Masquerade her Beauty wears,
And Health, not Paint, the fading Bloom repairs."

"Poems on several occasions, 1718." Mat. Prior was a match for any of his predecessors at a dedication; for instance: "Such were the Natural Faculties and Strength of His Mind, (the Earl of Dorset's) that He had occasion to borrow very little from Education: and He owed those Advantages to His own Good Parts, which others acquire by Study and Imitation. His Wit was Abundant, Noble, Bold. Wit in most Writers

is like a Fountain in a Garden, supply'd by several Streams brought thro' artful Pipes, and playing sometimes agreeably. But the Earl of Dorset's was a Source rising from the Top of a Mountain, which forc'd it's own way, and with inexhaustible Supplies, delighted and inriched the Country thro' which it passed.

" One Child He had, a daughter chast and fair;
His Age's Comfort, and His Fortune's Heir.
They call'd her *Emma*; for the beauteous Dame
Who gave the Virgin Birth, had born the Name.
The Name th' indulgent Father doubly lov'd;
For in the Child the Mother's Charms improv'd.
Yet, as when little, round his Knees she plaid;
He call'd her oft, in Sport, His *Nut-brown Maid*:
The Friends and Tenants took the fondling Word;
(As still they please, who imitate their Lord)
Usage confirm'd what Fancy had begun:
The mutual Terms around the Lands were known
And *Emma* and *the Nut-brown Maid were one*."

" The Iliad of Homer. Translated by Mr. Pope, 1715." These handsome volumes in folio are ornamented with many engravings from the subjects furnished by the work, and particularly the first by the bust of Homer, from the masterly hand of Vertue. The Privilege or Licence precedes

cedes the Preface, two or three paragraphs of which follow. "Homer is universally allow'd to have had the greatest invention of any Writer whatever. The Praise of Judgment *Virgil* has justly contested with him, and others may have their Pretensions as to particular Excellencies; but his Invention remains yet unrival'd. Nor is it a wonder if he has ever been acknowledg'd the greatest of Poets, who most excell'd in That which is the very Foundation of Poetry. It is the Invention that in different degrees distinguishes all Great Genius's: The utmost stretch of human Study, Learning, and Industry, which masters every thing besides, can never attain to this. It furnishes Art with all her Materials, and without it Judgment itself can at best but *steal wisely*: For Art is only like a prudent Steward that lives on managing the Riches of Nature."

"The wrath of Peleus' Son, the direful Spring
Of all the *Grecian* Woes, O Goddess, sing!
That Wrath which hurl'd to Pluto's gloomy Reign
The Souls of mighty Chiefs untimely slain;
Whose Limbs unbury'd on the naked Shore
Devouring Dogs and hungry Vultures tore.
Since Great *Achilles* and *Atrides* strove,
Such was the Sov'reign Doom, and such the Will
of Jove."

"The

"The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison, Esq. 1721."

The dedication, of which the following is an extract, has a pretty vignette, and the letter I is engraved with a lyre behind it. "I cannot wish that any of my writings should last longer than the memory of our Friendship (he observes to Craggs), and therefore I thus publickly bequeathe them to You, in return for the many valuable instances of your Affection. That they may come to you with as little disadvantage as possible, I have left the care of them to one, whom, by the experience of some years, I know well qualified to answer my intentions. He has already the honour and happiness of being under your protection; and, as he will very much stand in need of it, I cannot wish him better, than that he may continue to deserve the favour and countenance of such a Patron. I have no time to lay out in forming such compliments, as would but ill suit that familiarity between us, which was once my greatest pleasure, and will be my greatest honour hereafter. Instead of them, accept of my hearty wishes, that the great reputation, you have acquired so early, may increase more and more: and that you may long serve your country with those excellent talents, and unblemished integrity, which have so powerfully recommended you to the most gracious and amiable Monarch,

that ever filled a Throne. May the frankness and generosity of your spirit continue to soften and subdue your enemies, and gain you many friends, if possible, as sincere as yourself. When you have found such, they cannot wish you more true happiness than I, who am, with the greatest zeal," &c.

" O that some Muse, renowned for Lofty verse,
In daring numbers wou'd thy Toils rehearse!
Draw the Belov'd in peace, and Fear'd in wars,
Inur'd to Noon-day sweats, and Mid-night cares!
But still the God-like Man, by some hard Fate,
Receives the Glory of his toils too late,
Too late the Verse the mighty Act succeeds,
One Age the Hero, one the Poet breeds."

To King William III.

" The Works of John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of Normanby, and Duke of Buckingham, 1723."

This quarto, handsomely printed on a white thin paper, has a very fine portrait of him by Vertue, and a good engraving of his Monument by Fourdrinier, and contains a specimen of the licence then in use. " George, &c. &c. Greeting. Whereas our trusty and well beloved John Barber, Printer, and Alderman of Our City of London, has humbly represented unto us, that he is now

now printing the Works of his Grace John Sheffield Duke of Buckinghamshire, in Verse and Prose; and whereas the said John Barber has informed us, that he has been at great Expence in carrying on the said Work, and that the sole Right and Title of the Copy of the said Work is vested in the said John Barber; he has therefore humbly besought us to grant him our Royal Privilege and License for the sole printing and publishing thereof for the Term of Fourteen Years. We being willing to give all due Encouragement to so useful a Work, are graciously pleased to condescend to his Request, and do therefore hereby, so far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that behalf made and provided, grant unto the said John Barber our Royal License and Privilege for the sole printing and publishing the said Works of the said Duke of Buckinghamshire, for and during the Term of Fourteen Years, to be computed from the Day of the Date hereof, strictly charging and prohibiting all our Subjects within our Kingdoms and Dominions to re-print or abridge the same, either in the Like or in any other Volume or Volumes whatsoever, or to import, buy, vend, utter, or distribute any Copies of the same or any Part thereof re-printed beyond the Seas, during the said Term of fourteen Years, without the Consent and Approbation of the said John Barber, his Heirs, Executors, and Assigns,

under his or their Hands and Seals first had and obtained, as they and every of them offending herein, will answer the contrary at their Perils: Whereof the Master, Wardens and Company of Stationers of our City of London, Commissioners and other Officers of our Customs, and all other our Officers and Ministers, whom it may concern, are to take notice, that due Obedience be given to our pleasure herein signified. Given at our Court at St. James's the 18th Day of April 1722 in the Eighth Year of our Reign. By his Majesty's Command,

"CARTERET."

The Dedication is in these words: "To the memory of John Sheffield Duke of Buckingham. These his more lasting remains (the monuments of his mind, and more perfect image of himself) are here collected by the direction of Catharine his Duchesse: Desirous that his ashes may be honoured, and his fame and merit committed to the test of time, truth, and Posterity."

Small engravings or head-pieces are placed over the titles of each ode or poem, taken from the subject of it; and the first letters are engraved with a back ground, derived from the same source. Some of the printer's tail-pieces are very good.

I have

I have purposely avoided making any kind of observation on the various peculiarities in orthography, style, sentiment, or manner of introducing works to the publick, in the preceding part of this chapter. Much might have been said; but every thing I could have advanced must occur to every reader in perusing the extracts in their chronological series.

I shall conclude this chapter with the substance of some curious remarks on our language made about the reign of George I. by the anonymous author of "A Journey through England." He says, the Welsh and Scotch call it *Sassenagh* or *Saxon*, but erroneously, as it is not Saxon; and repeats what I have already mentioned relating to the endeavours made by William the Conqueror to suppress the English, in order to introduce the Norman French, in which he decreed all parliamentary and law proceedings should be written. This, however, he continues, "never went farther than the lawyers, and the little scavengers of the law;" for example, *Oyez*, which in Norman is to hear or listen, is by the common cryers in the several boroughs repeated, *O yes*; but they know no more what it means than they do when they go to a cook's shop, and ask for a *kickshaw*, from the French words *quelque chose*.

And

And indeed Norman may very properly be called a learned language in England, where it is no where spoke, but acquired at the Inns of Court, and is a great ingredient in the law. In short, English is now composed of derivatives from the Greek and Latin; and what Saxon words are left, they have purged of the gutteral consonants, and it is become a very rich and soft language.

Dr. Tillotson, late Archbishop of Canterbury, hath very much improved it; as Sir Roger Lestrange and Mr. Dryden did very much in the reign of King Charles the Second, which was an age of wit, as that of King William was of learning; and both those reigns have much improved the language.

Mr. Addison and Sir Richard Steele's works have also spread the language abroad; for the great Le Clerc at Amsterdam, Leibnitz and the other learned men at the Universities abroad, study it. An extract from Dr. Ayloffe's communication to the above-mentioned gentleman, relating to the University of Oxford, is much to my present purpose. "But, relying on the best authorities, we shall only find King Alfred to have been the restorer of learning here: for national affairs in his reign being reduced to a peaceable state and condition, he, promoting all things that might either tend to the honour and advantage of his subjects, proceeded to many regulations; and, notwith-

notwithstanding letters were at so low an ebb in the kingdom, that few on the South side of the Humber could read English, and scarce a priest understood the Latin tongue, he ordered Gregory's Pastoral to be translated into English, and sent a copy of it to every bishop; and, for the further advancement of knowledge, sent into France, for Grimbald and John the Monk, whom he placed at Oxford, restoring this University to its pristine glory; for, by the heavy and continual wars of the Romans, Danes, and Saxons, learning was almost abolished and destroyed in Britain."

The vicissitudes of learning, the encouragement and debasement of this noble improvement of the human mind, have been so numerous, that I must beg leave to refer the reader for further and more minute information to those authors who had more space to enlarge on the subject.

CHAP. VII.

LIBRARIES.

NOTHING is known of the collections formed by the learned in the earliest stages of our history. The discoveries at Herculaneum and other places, overwhelmed by the ashes of Vesuvius, incontestably demonstrate, that the natives of Italy, contemporary with the Roman invaders of England, had depositaries of manuscripts. Therefore, whatever was the custom previous to their arrival in this country, the inhabitants of it must have known from them the necessity and convenience of collections for reference or amusement.

Immediately after the establishment of religious societies, they had their muniment rooms; and the monks, having little employment, soon added to their contents legends, chronicles, and leiger books. As the former and other subjects multiplied, they spread abroad, and kings, princes, and barons, may have had collections from the pens of the indefatigable members of monasteries, independent of the later supplies by professed clerks

or scribes. The readers of my history of London will recollect, that I have given a catalogue of the MSS. in the library of Elsynge Spital in the reign of Henry VI. consisting of sixty-two articles; upon referring to which a tolerable estimate may be formed of the nature of most of our antient libraries.

It has been my fate on other occasions to lament the indiscriminate destruction of manuscripts, when our religion was reformed. To that cause is partly to be attributed the paucity of materials for compiling a satisfactory sketch under this head; as to the collections in temporal hands, they were comparatively few, and constantly liable to destruction or dispersion through the endless disputes of our feudal lords. In the sacking of a castle, manuscripts seldom found protectors through a partiality for learning; and such as did escape and reach the time of Henry VIII. and the next following reigns, were generally destroyed, because most of them related to subjects either remotely or intimately connected with the Roman catholic faith. Unfortunately, we had but one Cotton to rescue literature from the wretched state to which bigotry had reduced her.

The reader of this work will perceive the necessity I am under of being concise as to private libraries before the invention of printing. After the encouragement of that art had rendered books

sufficiently

sufficiently moderate in their price, many publi libraries were founded, which might be mentioned, with their contents chained to the desks—a custom universal in churches, and which ceased when books became numerous. The reign of James I. has generally been termed a pedantic period. It is, however, certain, that the example of the monarch was of infinite service to literature; and libraries, both public and private, increased in a far greater proportion than the unhappy reign of his son permitted in his age.

The profligate conduct of Charles II., and the infatuation of his brother, prevented the publick from turning their attention this way; but after the Revolution of 1688, the people at large had time, security, and property, to indulge safely in their propensities for learning; and we find the following collections made subsequent to that period, noticed in a MS. preserved in the British Museum.

The person to whom we are indebted for this information observes, that libraries might be collected without difficulty by societies of men, each presenting to a common stock "one book of a sort, in five years it would be a good library; and half a dozen of all the pamphlets that come out weekly, for the use of such as wanted them, and would present bound books for them, but still to keep one for the use of the library. One Mr. Tomlinson,

Tomlinson, who, with great pains and care, made such a collection from 1641 to 1660, King Charles I. wanting a particular pamphlet, and hearing Tomlinson had it, took coach and went to his house in Paul's church-yard to read it there, and would not borrow it, but gave him 10*l.*

"*There are several hundred volumes bound uniform in folio, 4to. and 8vo. so well digested, that a single sheet may be readily found by the catalogue which was taken by Mr. Foster, and is twelve volumes in folio. This collection deserves to be publickly reposited.

"The apothecaries not long since had a design to collect all sorts of dispensatories and books relating to botanicks, as Herbals, &c.

"The barber-surgeons have collected such books as relate to anatomy at their hall in Monkwell street; there is also that admirable piece of Henry VIII. sitting on his throne and giving the master and warden their charter, painted by the famous Hans Holbein.

"*Libraries in private hands.*—The Right Reverend the Bishop of Norwich hath a large and most incomparable library. There are vast quantities both of printed books and MSS. in all

* Something seems wanting here. The volumes referred to were all the pamphlets published in the great rebellion: they were purchased by the late King, and deposited by him in the British Museum, where they remain.—S. A.

faculties;

faculties; there are great variety of MSS. admirable both for antiquity and fair writing: a Capgrave, the finest in England; there is but one more, and that is in Bennet college library in Cambridge, with many others of great value too long to insert. He hath the old printed books at the first beginning of printing; that at Mentz, 1460, and others, printed at Rome and several other cities in Italy, Germany, France, and Holland, before 1500; those printed in England by the first printers at Oxford, St. Alban's, Westminster by Caxton, Winken de Worde, Pynson, &c. the greatest collection of any in England; other books, printed on vellum, and curiously illuminated, so as to pass for MSS.; a fine Pliny and Livy, in 2 vols. both printed on vellum, and many such like; abundance of exemplars of books printed by the famous printers, the Aldi, Zanchi, Geyphius, Vascosanus, Stephens, Elzevirs, &c. It were heartily to be wished his Lordship's Catalogue were printed; for I believe it would be the best that ever appeared, I mean here in England.

"Dr. Hans Sloane hath a very copious collection of books in all faculties, as physick, mathematicks, the classicks, &c. in all languages, old printed books; a great number of MSS. on divers subjects, both antient and modern.

"He hath a most admirable collection of natural and artificial rarities, shells, insects, fossils, medals

medals both antient and modern, Roman and Greek antiquities; ores of several sorts, as gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, and a vast many other antique rarities that had been Mr. Charleton's, so that with what he had before and since hath collected, he hath the greatest in England.

" His book of plants of several countries, a large collection of voyages, discoveries, travels into foreign parts, in most of the European languages, not only printed, but most of them in MS. in Latin, Italian, French, Flemish, Dutch, and English, nothing having escaped him that he knew of, either here or abroad, that could be purchased. He is copiously furnisht with books on all curious subjects; perhaps there is not such another collection in its kind in all Europe.

" The Earl of Carbery hath made a noble collection; and amongst other things, all that relate to mystical divinity.

" The Earl of Kent hath spared for no cost to compleat his collection of English historians, visitations, and pedigrees.

" The Earl of Pembroke is very choice in books of medals, lives, and effigies of all great and learned men, kings, princes, dukes, and great generals, with abundance of others of pomp and state.

" The Lord Somers hath an admirable collection of books relating to the laws of this land and other countries in Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish;

Spanish; also our English historians, both printed and Mss.—a rare library in this kind.

"The Earl of Sunderland hath a great collection of scarce and valuable authors, in polite learning, especially the best editions of the classicks; he bought Mr. Hadrian Beverland's entire—a collection very choice in its kind. This, in my opinion, is the best and most expeditious way to procure a good library; and the method taken by the old earl of Anglesea, who bought several entire, as Oldenburgh's, &c."

The Journey through England also mentions this collection in terms of great approbation in speaking of Althrop, a seat belonging to the Earl of Sunderland. "The library is a spacious room, the books disposed in neat cases, and an antique bust over every case. But this library, nor any private library in Europe, comes up to that great one which the present Earl of Sunderland (2d edit. of the work 1724) hath collected at his house in Piccadilly, or the good disposition of them; and it is one of the greatest curiosities in London for a learned traveller."

The same author thus notices it again in his second volume. "Adjoining to this is the palace of Charles Earl of Sunderland (second son of the late earl of that name, who was groom of the stole, first gentleman of the bedchamber, and prime minister to his Majesty King George, a nobleman

nobleman of uncommon talents, a great encourager of learning and learned men; and, what seldom happens in one line, had the greatest share in this administration, as his father had in the reigns of King Charles the second, King James, and King William), separated also from the street of Piccadilly by a wall with large grown trees before the gate.

"But the greatest beauty of this palace is the library, running from the house into the garden; and, I must say, is the finest in Europe, both for the disposition of the apartments and of the books. The rooms, divided into five apartments, are full 150 feet long, with two stories of windows; and a gallery runs round the whole in the second story, for the taking down books.

"No nobleman in any nation hath taken greater care to make his collection complete, nor does he spare any cost for the most valuable and rare books; besides, no bookseller in Europe hath so many editions of the same book as he, for he hath all, especially of the classicks.

"The Lord Halifax's collection is noble and choice, with admirable judgment well digested, and in good order.

"There is a large and curious collection made by the late Mr. Secretary Pepys, now in the possession of Mr. Jackson his heir, at Clapham in Surrey. It consists of various subjects, as English

lish history, maritime affairs, the power and constitution of the admiralty, and sea laws. He made a vast collection from our antient records in the Tower, and English historians, both antient and modern, relating to our naval affairs and those of other countries. Here are the finest models of ships of all rates and sorts; ships painted by the best masters, as Valde, Backhuysen, &c.; the drawing of the royal navy of Henry VIIIth; books of musick, mathematicks, and several other subjects, all excellent in their kind. But what he hath collected with respect to the city of London is beyond all compare; as for books, ground plots, views, palaces, churches, great houses, coronations, funerals, public shews, heads of famous men, all that could be collected relating to London. He hath been at the charge of drawing such things as never were in print, for the illustration of that famous city, he being a native thereof. A vast collection of heads, both domestick and foreign, beyond expression; copy books of all the masters of Europe, Italian, French, German, Flemish, Dutch, Spanish, and English, all digested according to their time and country, pasted on large paper, and bound up; a large book of title-pages, frontispieces, not only of the best English masters, but Italian, French, &c. which are very much improved by Mr. Jackson, his nephew, in his travels—this is not to be paralleled;

paralleled; there are many other excellent books and rarities. He contrived his catalogue for the easy finding any author, and the various subjects, so that a single sheet may be found as soon as the largest folio. Of all the catalogues I ever saw, nothing came near it but my lord Maitland's, taken by his own directions, having the name of the author, the place where printed, the printer's name, and date: when printed, a catalogue thus taken, with an index of the author's name, must needs be of excellent use.

"The inclinations of persons are vastly different in their collecting, as particularly my lord Clarendon, mainly about the affairs of Ireland and its government; Mr. Wild, formerly living in Bloomsbury, his consisted of architecture and agriculture, admirable in its kind; a gentleman that lived in the Inner Temple had a collection consisting of books of necromancy and magic, mostly MSS.; Mr. Thomas Britton, the small-coal man in St. John's, books were of chemistry, as may be seen by the catalogue printed for their sale by auction. He hath a vast collection of musick, pricked by his own hand, and esteemed of great value.

"Dr. Beaumont, for some years last past, hath collected whatever he could relating to mystical divinity, spirits, witchcraft, and such like nice subjects.

" Captain Aston, for some considerable time, hath procured a large quantity of voyages, travels, &c. in most of the European languages, besides books on other subjects.

" Mr. Southerby in Hatton Garden hath a curious collection of books, both MS. and printed, besides his fine medals.

" Several of these gentlemen have collected medals, prints, and paintings.

" Mr. Serjeant-Surgeon Bernard's library is very valuable for the best editions and fairest impressions of the classicks, in all volumes.

" Mr. Huckle on Tower-hill hath been admirably curious in collecting the nicest books in Latin, Spanish, Italian, and French; his prints are fine beyond comparison, consisting of those of the first printing off. He is a critical judge of prints, drawings, and paintings.

" Mr. Graham and Mr. Child are curious collectors that way.

" Mr. Chicherley, Mr. Bridges, Mr. Walter Chavell, and Mr. Rawlinson of the Temple, have curious libraries.

" Captain Hatton hath a rare collection of English history.

" Mr. Slaughter of Gray's inn hath an admirable library.

" Mr. Topham hath a complete collection of books in the Greek language; Dr. Goodman,

Dr.

Dr. Gray, Dr. Tyson, and Dr. Woodward, have been great and curious collectors; and so have Dr. Mead and Dr. Brooks.

"Mr. Godwin of Pinder hath a very good library.

"Some of late have been curious to collect those of the large paper; and not long since Mr. Bateman bought Dr. Stanley's study of books, wherein were the most of that kind that have been seen together for some years.

"Mr. Wanley hath made a great progress towards collecting books relating to the service of the church, the several versions and impressions of the Holy Bible in English and Latin, psalters, primers, and common prayer-books: it will soon be the best of the kind in the kingdom; from whence in time we may expect his critical observations of the several versions of holy writ into English: a work that hath been attempted by some.

"He hath thousands of fragments of old writings, some near 1000 years old; as a piece of Virgil with figures not far behind that in the Vatican; other pieces where the writing hath been scraped out, for want of vellum to write other things on; and I verily believe he was the first that ever made that discovery; for some years ago, in the Bodleian library, he shewed me a MS. in Greek that had been twice wrote on. His

fragments are in divers languages, Greek, Latin, Saxon, &c.; I believe the like is not in Europe, and I believe no person can make better use of them: so that, if he meet with encouragement as Mabillon had in France, we may have greater variety of specimens from him, besides what he intends towards a Saxon Bible. This collection of his deserves a very great encomium.

"Lately, the gentlemen of Doctors' Commons purchased a library of Dr. ——, which is put into a great room next to the hall, and intend to collect more books to compleat it. The learned Dr. Pinfold is putting them in order: they are most relating to the civil and canon law.

"Dr. Busby gave a collection of books in the room called the Museum at Westminster school, for the use of the scholars.

"I shall conclude with observing, that books, being sold by auction, and printed catalogues, have given great light to the knowledge of books. This we are beholden to the auctioneers for; such as Dunmore, Edw. Millington, Marmaduke Forster, Wm. Cooper, John Ballard, &c. They had vast quantities of books went through their hands, as Smith's, the lord Anglesea's, Dr. Jacomb's, Massow's, Earl of Aylesbury's, Lord Maitland's, &c.; the great stock of Scot Davie's of Oxford, and Littlebury's. Dispersing catalogues of these much conduced to improve the learned in the know-

ledge

ledge of scarce and valuable books, which before stood dusty in studies, shops, and warehouses."

We are informed in old publications, that the booksellers who dealt in antient literature resided in Little Britain and Paternoster-row; those for divinity and classicks on the north side of St. Paul's cathedral; law, history, and plays, about Temple-bar; and the French booksellers in the Strand.

Were this subject pursued to the present time, it would lead me into a repetition of numerous particulars already introduced to the publick in *Londinium Redivivum*, where the libraries of the British Museum, the Charter-house, St. Paul's, Sion college, &c. are described; and, with respect to private collections, they are so numerous and important, that it would be difficult to decide which deserves the preference in selection, and to mention all is utterly impracticable.

The universal taste for literature now prevalent cannot be more amply illustrated than by calling the reader's attention to the various *institutions*, as they are quaintly and inaccurately termed, lately established in the metropolis. The Royal *Institution*, the London *Institution*, the Russell *Institution*, the Surrey *Institution*, &c. &c. are each very extensive and very excellent *libraries*, liberally conducted and highly honourable to the inhabitants of London at large, to whom they owe their origin.

As

As the Journey through England which I have quoted in the preceding pages contains a valuable account of the first public library in the principal University of Great Britain, I shall introduce it, without apology, as applicable to the intention of this chapter.

"And now I come to the famous Bodleian library, for which that eminent physician, Dr. Ratcliff, hath left forty thousand pounds, to build a new room for the disposition of the books; which, by its plan, will far exceed that of the Vatican at Rome, or that at Paris. And to give you an idea of this great work, I send you the history of this famous library from its first beginning down to Dr. Ratcliff's donation, as I had it from Dr. Hudson, the present library-keeper, and fellow of University College, a very learned antiquary; and although it is long, I am sure you will not think it tedious.

'The first public library in Oxford was set up in Durham-hall (where Trinity College now stands) by Richard of Bury, or Richard Hungerville, who was Lord Treasurer of England, and Bishop of Durham in the time of King Edward the Third.

'About the year 1367, another library, erected by Thomas Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, upon the old congregation, adjoining to St. Mary's church, begun to be furnished with desks and

books,

books, and was mightily increased by the bounty of the founder, King Henry the Fourth, all his sons, and other of his nobility, both spiritual and temporal, till about the year 1480, this library was brought into a new one, which it pleased that most noble prince, Humphry Duke of Gloucester, to build over the divinity-school, which he had just before founded for the use of the University, and furnished it with those manuscripts which he at any rates had purchased from foreign parts (chiefly from Italy) and presented the University at two donations; the names of which books, together with his letters sent with him, are still extant in the archives of the University. This library was first opened in 1480, but within 80 years after was utterly destroyed by the commissioners appointed by King Edward the Sixth to visit the University, in order to purge it from the corruptions of Popery, and to establish sound learning and truth in the room thereof, and encourage learned men—a thing much wanted at present; for the soil is good and well enough planted, if it were duly watered and blessed with good husbandmen and benign patrons. This was the state of things when Sir Thomas Bodley, knight, considered the damage which learning had sustained, and what a great use a public library would be to the students: for as yet, though printing was grown common, books were so dear

and

and scarce, that a scholar of an ordinary fortune could not pretend to have in his private study any more than those that were necessary for the performance of his exercises. Sir Thomas had all the qualities of a Mecenas; he was an excellent scholar himself, a lover of learning in others, and the proprietor of a very plentiful estate. After a mature deliberation, he desired leave of the University to furnish Duke Humphrey's library once more with desks, seats, and books, at his own costs and charge; which being gained, he acquitted himself beyond all expectation. He procured benefactions from very many of the nobility and gentry, both in books and money; he sent over men on purpose to buy books in France, Italy, Spain, and Germany; he persuaded his learned friends to repose their ancient manuscripts here, as in a place of safety (at least) until another general revolution; and thereupon, the learned society of Merton College, wherein he had his education; and likewise the dean and chapter of Exeter, where he had his birth, sent in great parcels; another parcel was given by Mr. Thomas Allen, who had saved all he could procure of the University and Abby libraries. Other manuscripts were given by that great antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton; others by Henry Savill, who afterwards enlarged his benefaction. This library was opened on November the 8th, 1602, the Vice-Chancellor

and

and the whole University coming thither in their formalities; and this day still continues to be the visitation-day, when the curators (who are the Vice-Chancellor, the King's Professors in divinity, law, and physick, of the Hebrew and Greek tongues, and the two Proctors of the University) do inspect the library, and call over all the books, and afterwards do receive a handsome entertainment at the Vice-Chancellor's lodgings; and in the afternoon there is a speech made by one of Christ-Church College. Sir Thomas, in a few years, found his library to increase so fast, that he erected another building adjoining to it, which made it in the shape of a Roman T, and this he furnished with all things necessary, and especially with books, wherein he was so diligent, that (as he wrote to Dr. Thomas James his first keeper) there was not 400 pounds worth of books in England fit for a library, which were not actually placed therein; and that he would endeavour for them also.

'Nor was his care for the future state and preservation of it less than it ought to be; for after that the University had built the public schools, just by the library up two stories high, he himself at his own charge raised a gallery all round a story higher, to the intent, that when the new part of the library shall be filled with books, they might go on to furnish these libraries also. Besides this,

this, he made an agreement with the Stationers' Company in London to give one copy to the library of every book which they should print from thenceforward; which agreement they very well observed till about the year 1640. And lastly, by his will he left a considerable estate to the University, in land and money, for salaries to the officers for keeping his fabrick in repair, and buying new books: but this is now fallen miserably short; for by the fraud of his executor, by the loan of a great sum of money to Charles the First in his distress, and by the fire of London, the estate will do little more than pay the officers their old salary, though their trouble is much increased; which salary is too scanty and narrow for a man of eminent learning, as the present librarian is, and all who succeed him in that office ought to be.

'Sir Thomas Bodley died January 28, 1612, after he had made fit statutes for the government of the place, and they had been confirmed in convocation; and he declared by the University to be the founder of the library; but with him the genius of the place did not seem to fall, since there are now more than double or treble the number of books in it than were there at the time of his death.

'For soon after, the Earl of Pembroke (through the persuasion of Archbishop Laud) bought,

bought, and gave almost all that collection of Greek manuscripts which Francisco Baroccio, a Venetian gentleman, had with great costs and pains gathered together, esteemed the most valuable collection that ever came into England at one time: those which that peer kept for his own use, being about 22 in number, Oliver Cromwell afterwards bought, and gave. Sir Thomas Roe also, who was the English ambassador at Constantinople, at his return home, presented a choice parcel of Greek manuscripts which he bought in Turkey.

'Sir Kenelm Digby also presented a great parcel of manuscripts newly bound, which he had from Mr. Allen above-mentioned, or otherwise procured in his travels. And all this while, Archbishop Laud had sent into the East to buy up Oriental manuscripts; as also into Germany; from whence many excellent manuscripts were gotten from the Swedish soldiers, who had ravaged the libraries there. And at his instigation the University built up another room, contiguous to the end of Duke Humphrey's library, which makes it in the shape of a Roman H. This end of the library is truly a noble room, as well for the goodness of the wooden work as for the value of books it is furnished with. They are placed thus: on the gallery on the right hand are the Boroccian manuscripts, Digby's, Roe's, Cromwell's, and those

those which were before dispersed over the library, but now gathered together, and marked N. E. In the gallery on the left hand are the manuscripts given by Archbishop Laud, at four or five donations: they are above 1300 in number, and written in above twenty languages; all these well bound, except those he gave at his last donation, which was in haste, by reason of the great troubles of those times. The remaining part of that new side of the library is mostly taken up with the excellent study of the learned John Selden, Esq. late of the Inner-Temple, London: though it is to be lamented that his whole library was not given by his executors according to his intention once; for the fire of the Temple destroyed in one of their chambers eight chests full of the registers of abbeys, and other manuscripts relating to the history of England; though most of his law books are still safe in Lincoln's-Inn.'

"It will be too tedious here to reckon up all the great benefactors to this place, though one more I will not pass by: Sir Thomas Fairfax, afterwards Lord Fairfax, the general to the parliament's forces, who, amongst other manuscripts, presented 160, written by the hand of Mr. Roger Dodsworth, and relating to our English history, as may be guessed by the first volume of the Monasticon, which was chiefly taken from them. These books stand in one of the new galleries lately

lately set up in the middle part of the library; next to them on the right hand stands that noble parcel of Oriental manuscripts bought by the University of the late Dr. Huntington, who collected them in the East; and on the left hand stand the manuscripts of the Lord Hatton, and those which the University bought of Mr. Greaves; in the other gallery stand the Oriental manuscripts brought from the East by Dr. Pocock, and purchased by the University; together with two other parcels of books, written and printed, those of Dr. Marshall, late rector of Lincoln College, and those of Dr. Thomas Barlow, late Lord Bishop of Lincoln, who bequeathed to the library all such books of theirs, after their death, which were not in this library before. This method of giving to the library, since it is now become so large, is approved by many wise men; and there are some now living who have taken the same course.

"The world has had several printed catalogues of the books in the Bodleian library; that of the printed books, published by Dr. Hyde, was in the year 1674. Since which time there have come in so many thousands more, that a new catalogue is now composing by the learned Dr. Hudson, the present library-keeper, which will give the world full satisfaction in this point; and that as soon as may be. As to the manuscripts, an account of them was also published above twenty

years

years ago. Since which time, the University has bought all the manuscripts of the deceased Dr. Edward Bernard, with such of his printed books as were fit for their library.

" Upon the whole, this library is much larger than that of any University in Europe; nay, it exceeds those of all the sovereigns in Europe, except the Emperor's and the French King's, which are both of them older by almost an hundred years. These, as the Vatican in Rome, the Medicean at Florence, and Bessarion's at Venice, exceed the Bodleian in Greek manuscripts, which yet outdoes them all in Oriental ones; and for printed books, no Italian library is so celebrated as the Ambrosian at Milan, though it is much inferior to the Bodleian, as is that likewise at Wolfenbuttle, both in manuscripts and printed books, though we should even allow the account given of it by Conringius. Besides the Bodleian, there be some others vested in the University, as the Savilian by the Geometry school, and Ashmolean by the Museum; both which are replenished with manuscripts proper to their places.

" The studious scholar has not only the advantage of the above-mentioned libraries, but also the inspection of two collections of coins and medals; the one in the Museum, and the other in the galleries of the Bodleian library, which is the most considerable, and whereof great part was given

given by Archbishop Laud, and many since by Consul Roe. These galleries are replenished with the pictures of the founders of colleges, and of other learned men, and down below is a great collection of ancient inscriptions and marbles, most of them part of the Arundelian collection; the rest of them being since given by Mr. Selden and Sir George Wheeler.

"The library-keeper is elected and admitted to his office after the same manner as the proctors are chosen and admitted to their office, by delivering the keys of the library into his custody; only the candidates must submit themselves to the examination of the curators: both the electors and the person elected must take the proper oaths directed in the Bodleian statutes. This library is open on all days of the year, besides Sundays, Christmas-day, and holidays, from eight o'clock in the morning to eleven, and from two in the afternoon to five, from Easter to Michaelmas; and the other part of the year from one till four o'clock, unless on Saturdays, when it is only open till three o'clock in the afternoon, for the sake of cleansing it.

"Neither the librarian nor his deputy may, on any pretence whatsoever, carry in any candle or fire, on pain of perpetual amotion; and the keeper ought not to be absent from thence above a day and a half, on pain of 20 *s.* to be lopped off from his salary, for the increase of books.

"Besides

"Besides the yearly salary of 20 nobles, arising out of the ancient benefaction of King Henry the Fourth, and to be paid by the proctors out of the University treasury, the chief librarian received 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* expressed in the deed of Bodley's gift, at the stated feasts of the Annunciation and Michaelmas, or within thirty-three days after, by equal payments. There is moreover the sum of 8*l.* allowed to some honest poor person, being a servant to the chief librarian, to sweep the library, and to cleanse the books, desks, seats, windows, &c. and to ring the bell, and lock the door, &c.

"Herein is also kept an iron chest, with three locks thereon, for the keeping of all such money as shall be paid thereunto, which ought to be within three days after the receipt thereof; and the keys placed in the custody of the vice-chancellor and proctors, and to be delivered up to their successors on quitting their office.

"No one has the privilege of studying herein, besides doctors or licentiates in some one of the three faculties; batchelors of divinity, masters of arts, batchelors of law or physick; batchelors of arts of two years standing, and students in the civil law after three years standing in the University, if they be fellows of any college, and attending the law lecture, and be approved of by the professor; the sons also of barons in the upper house

house of Parliament. But before any person be admitted to study herein, he ought to take the statutable oath before the vice-chancellor; and if any one should be so impudent as to study or remain here without taking this oath, he incurs one day's imprisonment and a pecuniary mulct; but the congregation of masters have power, upon humble request made, to indulge this privilege to any foreigner coming hither for the sake of study.

"The library-keeper, in buying all books, is to follow the advice of the curators; and no book ought to be bought in any faculty without the approbation of the professors in each faculty, to be had in writing either before or after such purchase of book or books, and these books so bought to be presented to the curators at the next visitation, with the price thereof.

"The librarian moreover ought to take care, that if any book or books be desired by any student, or recommended by him, the titles thereof be immediately writ down in a book for this end; that upon advice with the respective professors, the book or books be bought by the vice-chancellor's consent, for the use of the students. No book ought to be delivered to any person without an entry of his name and the place of his abode in a paper-book, kept for this end by the library-keeper, who ought every year to prepare a perfect catalogue, and deliver it to the curators on the day of visitation."

APPENDIX.

THE following letter, printed from the original sent to me by Mr. Richardson, is a proper introduction to the charities noticed in this work.

"GOOD BROTHER,

"Her Majesty having been pleased in the brief which she has granted for the relief of the poor Palatines, whom the French cruelties on the frontiers and other hardships on the account of their religion have driven from their own country to seek shelter here; a copy of which brief you will herewith receive, 'to recommend it in a particular manner to all the archbishops and bishops in England and Wales, to give particular directions and commands to all parsons, vicars, and curates, of the several parishes within their respective dioceses, for the advancement of that charitable work,' I send this letter to you, in obedience to her majesty's commands, hoping that it would have been otherwise *superfluous for me to write to you touching this ministering* to these distressed Christians: *for you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for*

for our sakes he became poor, that we through his poverty might be rich: you know who hath *given commandment, that he that loves God love his brother also:* you know who it is that reputes himself to suffer in the person of his members, and of those more especially who are persecuted for his sake and the truth of his gospel. *Whoso then hath this world's goods, and can see these our brethren, brethren* on many accounts, *as men, as Christians, as reformed Christians,* exposed to the extremest need, and that for their stedfast adherence to *the truth as it is in Jesus, how dwelleth the love of God in him?*

"We do and may glory that our church has deservedly the character, not only of the bulwark of the Reformation, but of the common refuge of those that are persecuted for it; and I trust none shall ever be able *to stop us in this boasting.* Let me, therefore, beseech you, and require you, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus, both by word and example, to forward this great and pious design of our gracious Queen, by contributing yourself according to your power; by charging those in your parish that are rich and love much, that they be ready to give plenteously, and glad to distribute; by exhorting those that have little, to do their diligence gladly to give of that little; assuring both, that by so doing, they will gather to themselves a good reward in the day of neces-

sity, and lay up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may attain eternal life.

"I shall add only one thing more, that this is one of the best methods we can take, both of testifying our sense of God's great goodness, and our thankfulness to him for it, in so wonderfully preserving to us the free exercise of our religion in its purity in this church hitherto, and of prevailing with him to continue this invaluable blessing to us and our posterity. To God's blessing and grace your person and work and labours of love are most sincerely recommended by your affectionate brother and servant,

"W. Oxon.

"I think it would much forward this service, if you could prevail with some of the chiefest of your parishioners to accompany you when you go to collect the charity of the rest."

CLASSES OF SOCIETY IN ENGLAND.

"The degrees of people in England are divided into five classes:

"The peers of the realm.

"The baronets and knights batchelors.

"The esquires.

"The gentlemen.

"The commoners.

"The

"The French, you know, give the general title of *Noblesse* to the whole gentry; and every gentleman that has a marquisate or barony of land there, carries the title without any other prerogative: so that the French word *noblesse* doth not signify in English nobility, which belongs only to the princes of the blood and peers of France, as it signifies the whole peerage of England. Those peers are endowed with vast privileges; such as, not to be arrested for debt, not to be tried for murder or treason, but by their fellow-peers; and their word of honour, instead of an oath, to pass in all courts of justice.

"The second degree of baronets is an hereditary title of honour, not known abroad; but that of knights batchelors for life only, as the chevaliers of the several orders of knighthood are abroad.

"An esquire is a gentleman of a good estate not otherwise dignified, and belongs to counsellors at law, physicians, and commanders in the army: for when the king grants a commission to a man to be a captain, he always calls him esquire.

"Gentlemen is the common denomination of all younger brothers, as also of attorneys, and the other lesser degrees of the law.

"The French, you know, are very fond of titles; and you have known a gentleman there to have

have five sons, and each of them go by the name of his farm, which he gave them for their portion, and so the name of the family is lost; but here in England, give what landed estate you will to your sons, they still retain the name of the family.

"Amongst the commoners there is a degree in the country called yeomen and freeholders, who have votes in electing members of parliament, and are reckoned a degree much above the day-labourer.

"The dress of the English is like the French, but not so gaudy; they generally go plain, but in the best cloths and stuffs, and wear the best linen of any nation in the world; not but they wear embroideries and lace on their clothes on solemn days, but they do not make it their daily wear as the French do.

"Their diet is more substantial, though plainer, than that of any nation whatsoever: they do not so much affect soups, ragouts, and fricassees, as the French; but from the baronet down to the yeoman, you have always two substantial dishes, one boiled, and the other roasted; and what Don Pedro de Ronquillo, the Spanish ambassador, said of Leadenhall market in London, that there was more meat sold in it in one week than in all Spain in a year, I believe to be perfectly true; for there

are

are few tradesmen in London but have a hot joint every day."

Tour through England, 1724.

"As of their markets and fairs, and they be of several kinds, as first, that of Blackwall-hall, is twice a week, is to be seen a sight no where to be seen in all Europe; besides such quantity of cloth brought out of the West and North parts of England. And should a stranger but once see and have a relish of our staple commodity of woollen cloth, he would stand in admiration: and I have wondered very much it hath not been taken much notice of.

"Then in Leadenhall you may see the quantity of wool which is there vented every week, brought in after it hath been sorted by the staplers; besides, every Tuesday and Friday you have the tanners exposing their tanned leather of all sorts for sale.

"And likewise the butchers for the sale of their raw hydes, stines, and pelts, every Friday; and then it is, that the shoemaker furnishes himself with leather, lasts, and heels of wood for his use.

"And upstairs you have vast quantities of nails of all sorts and uses brought from the country, as Birmingham and other iron-work; whereto the ironmonger resorteth to furnish his shop.

"And

"And in the same Leadenhall you have a market well furnished with all sorts of provision, as beef, veal, mutton, lamb, bacon, fowls of all sorts, butter, cheese, fish of all sorts, herbage, in an abundance for the furnishing of this great city, with all things needful for the sustenance of mankind; and was well worth the sight of a famous inquisitive man, as may be observed, that when the grave and cunning Gundemore, the Spanish ambassador, was here, in the time of King James the First, there were few weeks passed over his head, wherein he did not set a day apart for the viewing of our markets, and other sights which he thought worth his observation; and that it was his opinion, that we have in London spent more meat in a week than was expended in all Spain in a year. And, now we are treating of markets, it may be worth the taking notice of, that the old shambles for furnishing of London before the time of King James the First, who, at his coming to London, mightily immersed in building, through the necessity of the great number of people which came and followed him to London at his assumption of the crown, which induced the Earl of Salisbury to build a market in Westminster, although against the charter and privileges of the city of London; and not only that market, but likewise made an exchange out of that which was the stables belonging formerly to the bishops

of

of Durham: and this was the first inlet and beginning of those structures for noblemen, and other tenements for meaner people in the adjacent parts of London, although expressly against an act of Parliament made by King Henry the Eighth; and at that time it was thought that London by the court was too rich and populous; and this was thought by building of markets and the exchange to be in a means to mortify the citizens of London; but this incites me to give you an account of the several markets and shambles in and about London before the dreadful fire of London; as of Leadenhall.

"Then had you the two East Cheaps much esteemed for their excellent fed beef there sold.

"Newgate market, Cheapside market, now called Honey-lane market; that in the borough of Southwark hath been much resorted to formerly by them on this side of the water for the cheapness; Gracious-street, for herbs; Stocks market both for flesh and fish in former times, although now much resorted to by the greengrocers, for the furnishing of their shops or stalls in other markets.

"Whitechapel and Smithfield bars for carcass of mutton, Field-lane for butchers and tripe-men; and likewise before the fire, a small market was kept at the lower end of Fleet-lane, but now disused.

"And

"And likewise at Holborn bars, within this thirty years, was two days in a week kept a small market by country hagglers for veal, pork, and fowls; but by an agreement between the city and the inhabitants, they being excused from * they have consented to the * of it, although there remains some butchers, poulterers, and fishmongers.

"The butchers now without Temple-bar hath been of great request, and a good market, where was to be had beef, veal, lamb, mutton, &c.; and likewise all sorts of fish and fowls, with several herb-shops, but now much decayed: the butchers, for the most part, remove to other markets; and these are all which come into my memory in or about London, from the year 1657 to the year 1700.

"The next great market set up and established was that of the Lord Clare's whyley called New Market; and this was begun to be built, and as then designed by the then Earl of Clare for the building of a parochial church, as an addition to the market, but never finished. The city and my lord had a great lawsuit, which lasted many years, to the great expence of the city; but from the inequity or unequity of the times the city and my lord agreed, and gave it up to the lord; and now it is become one of the greatest markets in the

* Sic in MS.

adjacent

adjacent parts; and from the success of this noble lord, they have got several charters for the erecting of several others since the year 1660; as that of St. James, by the Earl of St. Alban's; Bloomsbury, by the Earl of Southampton; Brook market, by the Lord Brook; Hungerford market, Newport market; besides the Haymarket, New Charing-cross, and that at Petty France at Westminster, with their Mayfair in the fields behind Piccadilly.

"And thus you see the increase of the markets within a century of years; as them in Goulding-lane, Hoxton, Spittal-fields, and other places in the outparts of London towards the East.

"I should have mentioned afore of the several markets for fish; first, that of Billingsgate, but now made a free market by act of Parliament. The fishmongers have been an old corporation, and were incorporate in several companies; and at one time they had several halls, and, if I mistake not, had five halls now in London, and went by the denomination of Stock Fishmongers, as several others they inhabited in old Fish-street, at first, those on new Fish-street hill, and was a trade of great request in the time of Popery; and even since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when Lent was kept (as after the Restoration of King Charles II. I remember one Lent was kept) very strict: but it would not hold; the people could

could not bear the charge of feeding on fish, they having so long been habited to the eating of flesh."

Harl. MS. 5900.

COCK-FIGHTING.

Quarto edit. p. 318; 2d edit. p. 127. vol. ii. from 1700 to 1800.

"A cock-pit is the very model of an amphitheatre of the ancients. The cocks fight in the area as the beasts did formerly among the Romans; and round the circle above sit the spectators in their several rows. It 's wonderful to see the courage of these little creatures, who always hold fighting on till one of them drops, and dies on the spot.

"I was at several of these matches, and never saw a cock run away; however, I must own it to be a remnant of the barbarous customs of this island, and too cruel for my entertainment.

"There is always a continued noise amongst the spectators in laying wagers upon every blow each cock gives; who, by the way, I must tell you, wear steel spurs (called, I think, *gafflets*), for their surer execution. And this noise runs fluctuating backwards and forwards during each battle, which is a great amusement; and, I believe, abundance of people get money by taking and laying odds on each stroke, and find their account

account in the end of the battle; but these are people that must nicely understand it.

"If an Italian, a German, or a Frenchman, should by chance come into these cock-pits, without knowing beforehand what is meant by this clamour, he would certainly conclude the assembly to be all mad, by their continued outcries of six to four, five to one, ten pounds to a crown, which is always repeated here, and with great earnestness, every spectator taking part with his favourite cock, as if it were a party-cause."

Journey through England, 1724.

DUKE D'AUMONT.

Quarto edit. p. 13; 2d edit. vol. i. p. 19. 18th century.

"The Duke D'Aumont, late ambassador from France, after the burning of his house, had the honour to be lodged here (Somerset-house), by a particular bounty of the late Queen; and it was here that he kept his summer carnivals and masquerades, so little known in England before his time. Whether the Chevalier de St. George was then incognito in Somerset-house, and that these masquerades were given for his diversion, I will not pretend to determine; but it was generally believed, and that he was often with the late Queen."

Journey through England, 1724.

CLUBS

Quarto edit. p. 261 ; 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 27. 18th century.

"There are an infinity of clubs, or societies, for the improvement of learning and keeping up good humour and mirth: of the first rank was the Kit-catt, commonly so called, because their original meeting was at the house of one Christopher Catt, of which the late great Earl of Dorset was one of the first founders.

"This club could have but thirty-nine members, who are all men of the first rank for quality or learning; and most of them have been employed in the greatest offices of state, and in the army; and none but gentlemen of the greatest distinction in some way or other. All their pictures are drawn by that great master Sir Godfrey Kneller, and kept in commemoration of that august assembly, by their ingenious secretary Mr. Jacob Tonson senior, with whom you was so charmed in Holland.

"The Hanover Club, also composed of noblemen of the first quality, and officers of the army, affectionate and zealous for the succession of the crown to that illustrious family, had their meetings as the former; they were, as all the other innumerable clubs, kept within this great city, prescribed by rules, and had their president, secretary, &c.

"In

"In the time of the sitting of the Parliament, there are also clubs composed of the different members of the House of Commons, where most affairs are digested before they are brought into the House.

"The October Club made a great noise all over Europe; and we have seen in Holland books printed for and against this society. In the city of London, almost every parish hath its separate club, where the citizens, after the fatigue of the day is over in their shops, and on the Exchange, unbend their thoughts before they go to bed.

"But the most diverting or amusing of all were the Mug-house clubs in Long-Acre, Cheapside, &c. where gentlemen, lawyers, and tradesmen, used to meet in a great room, seldom under a hundred.

"They had a president, who sate in an armed chair some steps higher than the rest of the company, to keep the whole room in order. A harp played all the time at the lower end of the room; and every now and then one or other of the company rose and entertained the rest with a song, and (by the by) some were good masters. Here was nothing drank but ale, and every gentleman had his separate mug, which he chalked on the table, where he sate as it was brought in; and every one retired when he pleased, as from a coffee-house.

"The

"The rooms were always so diverted with songs, and drinking from one table to another to one another's healths, that there was no room for any thing that could sour conversation.

"One was obliged to be there by seven to get room, and after ten the company were for the most part gone.

"This was a winter's amusement, agreeable enough to a stranger for once or twice, and he was well diverted with the different humours when the mugs overflow.

"On King George's accession to the throne, the Tories had so much the better of the friends to the Protestant succession, that they gained the mobs on all public days to their side. This induced this set of gentlemen to establish mug-houses in all the corners of this great city, for well-affected tradesmen to meet and keep up the spirit of loyalty to the Protestant succession, and to be ready upon all tumults to join their forces for the suppression of the Tory mobs. Many an encounter they had, and many were the riots, till at last the Parliament was obliged by a law to put an end to this city-strife; which had this good effect, that upon the pulling down of the mug-house in Salisbury-court, for which some boys were hanged on this act, the city has not been troubled with them since."

Journey through England, 1724.

The

The curious experiments detailed in the succeeding extracts from the Whitehall Evening Post for 1724 are inserted with the hope that they may be made useful on some future occasion.

"An account of the new Method of extinguishing Fires by explosion and suffocation. By Ambrose Godfrey of Covent-Garden, chemist. Wherein a description is given of the several machines and their uses, together with plain and sufficient directions for the proper application of them: a method easily practicable, certain in its effects, and so universally useful to the publick, that his Majesty has been moved to authorize and encourage this happy discovery, for the general advantage of his subjects, by his most gracious letters patent.

"To which is added,

"A short narrative of Mr. Povey's behaviour, in relation to this useful invention; by which it will appear, that the said Mr. Povey's pretended Watch Engine is at best a precarious and often dangerous remedy, imperfectly stolen from the author's method, published with a design to rob him of the just reward of his close application and considerable expences, by imposing upon the publick in suppressing an invention of real and universal benefit, and substituting an imperfect and dangerous one in its room.

"*Tunc tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*

"TO THE READER,

"The terrible fury of that devouring element fire, and the sad and mournful consequences which ever succeed its rage, have put men of all nations upon contriving such methods as might effectually conquer so dreadful an enemy. Some again, seeing the deficiency of what machines were at first invented, have, not without considerable success, endeavoured to improve and render them much more useful. The most excellent of all hitherto known are the Water Engines, of late brought to such a pitch of perfection, that by their means water may be forced up to a surprising height, with almost incredible swiftness, in a large and continued stream. These engines are of admirable use in open fires, and even great conflagrations: for they not only, by conveying large quantities of water, serve to subdue the main flames; but likewise, by their continual playing on all sides against the circumjacent buildings, are found most effectual in preventing this consuming element from spreading. To these many years ago, the Germans, seeing that the inner apartments and back rooms of houses hardly ever escaped being reduced to ashes, the stream of the engines not being able to reach them, have made an addition of leather pipes of a very great length, and several inches diameter, with a screw on one end to fix to the nosel of the engine;

engine; on the other, a short wooden or brass pipe for the readier discharge of the water, these they call Water Serpents; and use them to guide water from one room into the other, either to preserve or extinguish, one of the firemen holding the end in his hand, and directing the stream which way he finds most necessary. This additional improvement has been found so serviceable, that it has likewise met with a very favourable reception amongst us, and ought never to be mentioned without due applause.

"But alas! every body is persuaded, that these our water engines, with all their improvements and additions, are yet very far from being a sure and effectual remedy against fires, at all times and in all places.

"It is with the utmost grief we behold how much time we are forced to allow the rage of the flames before any water-engine can be brought to our assistance; and we often think ourselves very happy if in the fatal interim but one house is consumed.

"When fire breaks out in castles, towers, or other buildings on high places, where water engines cannot be brought near enough, we are obliged to be idle spectators; and by melancholy experience find our arms too short to serve ourselves, or lend helping hands to our neighbours.

"'Tis dreadful to see how our poor fellow-in-

habitants that live in alleys, back lanes, and narrow passages, in case of fire, are forced to sacrifice their all to this devouring Moloch, the bulk of our engines for the most part not permitting them to be brought so near as to be of any considerable service.

"Besides, we too often find, that the scarcity of water (without a sufficient quantity of which the engines are but of little use), or at least the great distance whence it must be fetched, become the causes of the fire's gaining upon the adjacent houses, and reducing whole streets, not to say towns, to ashes, before it can be conquered; witness the once unhappy fire of London, the late fire of Stockholm, and others.

"Lastly, who is not fully satisfied, that the great charge of purchasing, and the continual expence of keeping water-engines in repair, is the chief reason why most towns in this kingdom are unhappily, as yet, destitute of these so great and necessary helps?

"These, and other the like considerations, have long since occupied my thoughts; and the frightful idea I have of fire, when out of its bounds, though a very friendly element to me whilst confined under my furnaces, together with the sincere inclination I always harboured within me, to strive to be serviceable to my neighbours, as well as to myself, have spurred me on to think of contriving a method

a method that might supply the defects of the water-engines, and jointly with them become speedy and effectual enough at all times and places to overcome this formidable enemy.

" The steps I have taken to obtain the proposed end, and the success I have had in the pursuit of my design, I shall here mention, before I proceed to the description of the method itself.

" In the midst of my serious endeavours I was informed, that many eminent men both in Germany and France, especially the gentlemen of the Royal Academy of Paris, had for some time directed their speculations towards rendering the public method of extinguishing fires more compleat and extensive, and that some considerable progress had been already made in it. Whereupon I stopped a while, and resolved, before I did offer any thing of my own to the publick, to gain a full information of the advancement that had hitherto been made abroad relating to this laudable undertaking; which accordingly I obtained from time to time by my correspondence: moreover, I gathered what notions I could from any body that had a taste that way, at any price. And finding that, amongst others, an experiment of extinguishing fire by explosion had been tried abroad with success, several solid reasons soon induced me to conclude, that from this principle duly improved it was most likely to expect what

I was

I was in search of. And I flattered myself the more with the pleasing hopes of succeeding, since for the space of about forty years I have most frequently busied myself in operations and essays relating to productions and actions of fire, and of heat and cold in their several degrees, having made repeated trials of the different actions of both dry and liquid bodies upon each other, from the slightest intestine commotion or effervescence to the most vehement ebullitions, so as not only to occasion light and petillation, but to break out into sudden and violent flames: all which observations have greatly contributed towards my better perfecting that wonderful preparation the Phosphorus glacialis, of which, since the death of one Mr. Bilger, I may, without vanity, call myself, for near these forty years, the sole maker in Europe; for, on the strictest inquiry, I could never hear of any body either at home or abroad, nor have I met in my late travels with any person that did prepare the solid and transparent phosphorus besides myself. Some indeed have obtained a few grains, but not knowing how to prepare the magma, none could as yet produce the quantity of seven or eight ounces in one distillation, except myself. And though this preparation is entirely of my own finding out, yet I here confess, with the utmost sense of gratitude, that I am indebted for the first hints of the matter whence it is made to

that

that ornament of the English nation the great Mr. Boyle, my kind master, and the generous promoter of my fortune, whose memory shall ever be dear to me. Pardon the digression, kind reader. I return to my subject. These experiments of heating and inflaming bodies by bodies have naturally led me to other experiments to abate those ebullitions, and to stifle those flames either with liquid or dry materials. Having thus a chemical foundation towards this new method, I spared no cost nor charges, but encouraged a gentleman from beyond sea, to learn also of him what he knew of the method of extinguishing by explosion, in order to see the utmost extent of improvement it was then arrived at; which having acquired, I still found it labour under the following difficulties:

" 1. The great bulk and weight of the machines abroad, being as defective as that of the water-engines, rendering them unfit to be conveyed into narrow places and upper floors.

" 2. The experiment abroad was made in a close place, with only a hole at the top, and no windows; the door was kept shut in order to allow the fire as little air as possible, the easier to choak it; which makes the experiment very precarious.

" 3. They ventured abroad to fire only one single room at a time, built for that purpose.

" I had

" I had so many reasons to convince me of the excellency of the basis on which this experiment was founded, that, far from being deterred by the foregoing considerable imperfections, I judged it very well worth while to bestow my thoughts and labour, together with the joint endeavours of my ingenious friend, in order to bring this embryo as near its perfection as possible. For this purpose I fitted up a room over my laboratory, furnished with all sorts of proper utensils, and there contrived, made, altered, and mended, till at last all the defects mentioned of the German machines were entirely removed: the work of almost a whole winter. Insomuch, that

" 1. The bulk and weight of the former is reduced to portable light machines, to be carried and conveyed any where, as occasion shall require.

" 2. Instead of a close place without windows, and the doors shut, we ventured to have windows and doors wide open, and gave full vent to the fire to exert its rage; and yet we happily conquered its fury in a few minutes.

" 3. Instead of one single room, we ventured to set several rooms of different stories at once on fire, with no less success than in extinguishing one.

" Besides all these advantages, I have, since my friend's return into his own country, made several very material additions and improvements, which

which the reader will observe in the following pages.

" I have already mentioned, that the excellency of our curious water-engines consisteth in extinguishing open fires, and putting a stop to great conflagrations, in places where they can be brought near enough, and when they can be supplied with a sufficient quantity of water; there remained then, that such machines might be found out, by which fire under covert might be effectually extinguished, as in back-houses, inner rooms, on staircases, in chimneys, &c. as also in alleys and narrow passages; and in such a manner, that the scarcity of water might not be a material obstacle to the happy extinction.

" This, my reader, is what I promise to effect by my new-introduced method of extinguishing fire by explosion and suffocation; as will appear by the following account.

" In the mean time, I wish with all my heart, that the inhabitants of this city and country may be preserved from fire for these many years; and I shall be very well contented, nay, overjoyed at it, though the expence I have been at should never be returned. And for my own part, I should pay myself with the inward satisfaction of having contributed my mite towards a public good, in making a discovery of what will tend to the great advantage even of the latest posterity. Farewel.

" THE

"THE NEW METHOD OF EXTINGUISHING FIRES BY EXPLOSION AND SUFFOCATION.

"CHAP. I.—*Of the new Method in general.*

"Nothing is more certain, than that the power with which the chief magistrate of this opulent city was invested, of blowing up such houses as were adjoining on either side to a great fire, owed its birth to the manifest deficiency of the water-engines, and the scarcity of water itself at some times and places. And it is as certain, that the remedy has proved, by the violence of the explosion, so desperate in its effect, and so destructive to the goods and properties, nay, lives, of some of the inhabitants, that it soon was thought wisdom not to exercise so dangerous an authority; and such a terror has almost ever since possessed every one, that, far from thinking how to correct the ill consequences then arising, the very name of gunpowder to be used on the like occasions, has seemed to carry something so frightful along with it, that nobody till lately has thought fit to use his endeavours towards an improvement on that basis.

"The above-mentioned excessive violence proceeded from the immediate action of the elastic force of gunpowder upon the resisting parts of the houses; which, had it been broken by a convenient medium, and such a one as could have been conducive

conducive at the same time to a more effectual extinction, the danger would have been removed, the vast damages prevented, and the people would have been as much in love with that remedy as they have hitherto abhorred the thoughts of it.

"The new method I here offer to the publick consists of gunpowder closely confined; which, as soon as animated by fire, acts by its elastic force upon a proper medium, and divideth it instantly into millions of millions of most minute and imperceptible atoms, which, with equal violence and swiftness, are immediately forced into the innermost recesses of the flames, and insinuating themselves into the very pores of the walls, cieling, floors, and moveables, contained in the flaming apartment, at once touch and utterly extinguish the fire.

"The just now mentioned medium is water impregnated with a certain preparation, an enemy to fire. By the water thus qualified, a most considerable advantage is obtained, viz. Wherever it toucheth the burning materials, there it deadeneth them to a black coal, and, by its antagonist-nature to fire, hindereth the remaining live sparks, however agitated by the air, from regaining so readily a power of re-inflaming the extinguished parts; by which, time enough is allowed to servants or other assistants to enter the extinguished place, and with wet mops to expunge the few remaining sparks.

Whereas,

Whereas, if the extinction be made with water only (which may be done), the draught of the air will be apt to cause the live remaining sparks to kindle again the neighbouring materials, which are very fit to receive a fresh flame; the fire not being extinguished by the quantity of water, but rather by the artful expansion and rarefaction of its particles.

"Two several experiments have been tried publicly, to show with what certainty and expedition this new method of extinguishing fire under covert by explosion and suffocation answers the desired end, in presence of many persons of distinction; all of whom were so entirely satisfied with what they had seen, that, with the greatest readiness imaginable, they were pleased to give their ample testimonies and affidavits before his Majesty's attorney-general.

"The first experiment was tried in Belsize Park at Hampstead, on the 2d of April 1723; my Lord High Chancellor, Count de Lippe, Sir George Beaumont, Sir Hans Sloane, Sir J. Thornhill, Mr. Lawe, Dr. Steigerdahl, Dr. Keith, Dr. Pelles; Esq. Banks; Esq. Adams; Esq. Hoeks, and others of the nobility and gentry, with divers members of the Royal Society, being present. A wooden house three stories high was erected for this purpose, and set on fire; into which was put an addition of shavings, brushes, faggots, pitch, oil, &c. to increase

crease the fury of the flames, which were suffered to rise to their utmost height; then a machine was flung into the ground apartment, which instantly extinguished the fire there. But such was the rage of the flames in the upper floors, that the ladder which was affixed to one of the windows, with the design by its help to fling machines into the upper rooms, took fire; and the engineer, surrounded with flames, and for want of proper utensils, was obliged to quit the ladder by a fall, before he could throw his machine into any of the upper chambers; which accident was the cause that those apartments were consumed.

"This experiment, however seemingly clouded by this accident, did sufficiently convince all the noble spectators, that the effect of the machines was sure and expeditious; and that the mischance was owing to the want of proper instruments for the conveyance of them, and not to the defect of the machines themselves. Wherefore, as a testimony of their approbation, they generously encouraged, by gifts, a second trial.

"Which was made on the 30th of May following, in Westminster-fields, in the presence of a multitude of spectators (some of the same noblemen and gentlemen, and many eminent citizens besides) upon a house erected for that purpose, of the same height and dimensions as the former, which had stood exposed to the sun above a month

in

in a dry scorching season. After having put in the same sort of combustibles as before, all the three stories were set on fire at once; and the rage of the flames being at its full height, the fire in all the three stories was totally extinguished in less than three minutes, and a general satisfaction was declared by all the worthy spectators, several of whom forthwith entered the rooms.

"CHAP. II.

"*Description and Use of the Machines.*

"The constituent parts of the machines are, the shell and the powder magazine.

"The shell is a small wooden barrel with wooden hoops: in the middle of the top, an opening is left for a fuzee to pass through. This barrel is cased without, and well lined within, the better to hold the liquid; which is a mixture that never corrupts nor alters, when, on the contrary, mere water would soon putrify and stink.

"The powder magazine is a vesica of a sphæroidal figure, either of pewter or some other lasting substance, filled with gunpowder, having on one end a pipe, which pierces the top of the shell in the middle, and serves to guide the fuzee to the main magazine. This powder magazine is fixed in the centre of the shell, incompassed with the above-mentioned liquid. The fuzee is garnished with wild-fire, secured with a tin cover lined, to be taken off when the machine is to be used.

"There

"There are three sizes, to answer the different bigness of places where they are to be used.

"The first and largest size holds about five gallons of liquid. It is proper for halls, warehouses, large and lofty rooms, &c.

"The second size answereth all places of a middling extent, and holds about three gallons.

"The third size fits small rooms, cabins of ships, closets, &c. and holds about two gallons.

"To these machines I add another very necessary and useful contrivance, which, for distinction sake, and from its chief use, I call the chimney-shell; of which there are two sizes: one holding about two quarts of liquid, the other about one. When these are to be used, they must be fixed upon a pole and held up in a chimney or other high place, or else set up against a wall or in the chimney, which the buyer shall be instructed in.

"*Directions for the proper Application of the Machines.*

"1. Let him who throws the machine first take his aim at a convenient place before he lights the fuzee.

"In so doing, he will be sure to have time enough to get it out of his hands, and to retire before it goes off.

"2. As soon as he has parted with it, let him turn his back towards it, and retreat at some distance.

"But,

"But, suppose a stave or two should happen to fly at him, they will break no bones; and the greatest mischief thence proceeding will be only a black spot. However, nothing of this kind has happened as yet to me, though in my trials I have kindled and thrown a great many.

"There is no more danger in lighting the fuzee than in firing a common squib; nay, less, because the fuzee is longer, and by consequence affords a longer time to him that plays it off to convey it out of his hands.

"I advise the lighting of the fuzee, to gain time, and to render the operation as expeditious as it is certain; for should the machine thrown into a place fall to a disadvantage, so that the flame should not presently catch the wild-fire, a great deal of damage may be done in the interim, which by lighting the fuzee is prevented. However, if a person should have so little courage and resolution as to be afraid to venture, let him throw it as advantageously as he can, for the flame to catch the fuzee.

"3. In all fires under covert, where several stories are burning, let this be your standard rule, —To begin the extinction at the lowermost.

"4. If your chimney be on fire, take your recourse to a fit size of chimney shells, according to the largeness of the chimney; which, stuck upon a pole, as has been said, and held up, or only put

up

up in the chimney, will effectually extinguish the fire, and stop further mischief.

"These shells serve also to make your way through narrow passages and staircases on fire, as will appear by and by.

"5. A fire happening in a hall, warehouse, work or other shop, dwelling-room, or other, as soon as discovered, take hold of a machine of a fit size, light the fuzee, throw it in, and, if you can, shut the door upon it. No sooner is it played off but you may with safety go in, and, with a wet mop or broom, sweep down what live sparks are left.

"6. If a hall-room or shop be very long, and the machine should only extinguish the hither end, you then must advance with a second, and throw into the further part of the place.

"7. But, if your place should be very lofty, and some glowing coals should be remaining in the corners of the cieling, then the smallest size of the chimney shells, held up, or placed against that corner, will put the finishing stroke to the extinction.

"N. B. I here advise the shutting of the doors, if possible, because we cannot use too many precautions against this formidable enemy; although the extinction may be very well performed, even should the door be open, as I have affirmed in the preface.

"8. Several rooms on the same floor being on fire, let one or more machines of a fit size be conveyed into each, according to their respective extent; and proceed as has been directed.

"9. If three stories are on fire at once, extinguish the ground floor first; then make your way up stairs with the biggest size of the chimney shells, whilst another man or two follow you with as many other machines as are requisite for the extinction of the fire of the next story; thence in the like manner proceed higher, until you have secured all.

"10. A house of four stories requireth no other method but what has been directed in the preceding case, only be sure to begin always below first; and if your cellar be on fire, throw your machines in at the windows, thence proceed to the ground floor, and so on till you have successfully conquered the fire.

"11. Should the flames gain upon the next house, extinguish the room on fire within by your machines, and let the water-engines do their endeavour without, by playing against it. This will happily secure the neighbourhood; and a general conflagration will be prevented.

" CHAP. III.—*The Advantages arising from this new Method.*

" By what has been said, it plainly appears, that with due care and watchfulness, and the necessary precautions of having some of these machines always near at hand, this new method of extinguishing will prove so beneficial, that by it all fires may be choaked in their very birth; and no one single house need ever to be suffered to burn down, unless by carelessness; and there will still be much less occasion to fear a general conflagration, except from the wickedness of a gang of incendiaries.

" My sincere design being to render the proposed method really and truly beneficial to my fellow subjects, it is fit I should add the following caution, lest more should be expected from my machines than in reality they are able to perform.

" The whole intent of this new method goes no farther than the extinction of fires under covert; it therefore naturally implies, that the floors must be as yet standing, if the machines shall answer alone the full purpose: for, in case the roof be open, the resistance which that and the walls afford to the impelling force of the explosion will be lessened; and the liquid mixture wherewith these machines are charged, not being so forcibly distributed, the effect cannot be so great; al-

though, if part of the roof or floor be standing, so as to afford a sufficient lodging-place for the machine, no small service may be expected. Here are the extreme limits of our method of extinction: 't is here our machines shake hands with the water-engines; and the assistance of these now seasonably takes place from without, whilst those do their best within.

" It is no ways to be doubted, but the reasonableness, usefulness, nay, indispensable necessity, of this additional part of fire-precautions, will, in due time, and on farther use and experience, gain such universal approbation, and so firm an establishment, as will enable it, in all parts of Europe, to recommend itself, and thereby to make its own way.

" It is with joy I think how comfortable it will be in time to the inhabitants of besieged towns and fortresses, whose houses are set on fire by bombs or otherwise, to have these our anti-bombs at hand, by which they, as it were, in the same minute, may extinguish the fire, in which the others have kindled it. Towers, castles, and other high and inaccessible places, furnished with a number of machines, will, if they are but watchful, henceforth never have occasion to bemoan their ruin by fire.

" Our poor inhabitants in courts and alleys need not to be out of heart for the straightness of their

their passages; and the narrowness of their stairs are so far from being a disadvantage to them, that they rather facilitate the extinction by our machines, if they can but have them speedy enough.

"The moderate and portable sizes of these machines, and the reasonable prices, will doubtless induce all country towns and considerable villages to provide themselves with a proportionable number for their security.

"Scarce any nobleman or gentleman will leave his seat unfurnished of these necessary safeguards.

"What man of war or merchant-ship will not have some of these machines on board for the safety of their goods and lives?

"There will be no occasion at all to sue for acts of Parliament to compel people to buy and keep by them any of these machines, if they are good for any thing,—their own interest and safety will be much more cogent arguments. And I dare say, that time and experience will so fully convince every body of the excellency of this new-introduced method, that after a while the machines will become not only the purchase of the publick, but also the security of most private families.

"Should any one, or all of the fire-offices, incline to make use of this new method of extinguishing fires by explosion and suffocation, and annex

annex it to the use of their excellent water-engines, they being well provided with ladders, poles, hooks, &c. the publick would be effectually succoured in all accidents of fire, and the particular advantage of each respective office would take a most considerable increase, and every fire-office would save thousands per annum.

"For as no house need ever to be burnt down, they will have no need to rebuild, but only to repair a few damages; and the inhabitant needs not to leave his dwelling; which will preserve thousands from ruin: and this very particular advantage will almost encourage every body, not only to subscribe to their offices with more alacrity than ever, but likewise to buy some machines to keep for security at home; besides the vast income they will have by furnishing the whole kingdom with these machines, as also the navy and merchant ships.

"Those gentlemen are certainly best qualified to procure a general reception to an affair of so great moment; and they best know how to manage it, both for their own and the publick advantage; which I, as a private man, neither can nor will pretend to. But, as long as I keep my patent in my own possession, instead of striving for an extensive trade, I shall always keep a convenient number of machines by me, and content myself with serving such as shall think fit to apply to me for them.

"*The*

" *The Prices of the Machines.*

The first size - - - -	£1 5*s.*
The second size - - - -	1 1
The third size - - - -	0 18

" *The Chimney Shells.*

First size - - - - - - - - -	10*s.* 6*d.*
The second size - - - - - -	7 6

" Considering the great expences I have been at to acquire a compleat knowledge of what had been done abroad relating to this new method, and the time, labour, and charges, I have bestowed to bring it to the degree of perfection it now is at, the prime cost of the machines themselves, which is considerably greater than that of Povey's counterfeit watch-engine, which has lately been hawked about the streets at 15*s.* per piece; besides the addition of the chemical preparation with which the water is impregnated: nobody will have reason to think the above-mentioned prices too high; and the following chapter will convince, even the meanest capacity, that the difference in the workmanship and usefulness of my machines, compared to Povey's, is vastly greater than the difference in prices. My first and second sizes are considerably larger than his; the third, which I rate at 18 shillings, cometh nearest to his, but holds more gunpowder, and something

something less water, which renders the force of the explosion stronger, and the extinction more effectual: and every buyer, at first sight, will judge it by much the cheapest of the two. I need not here repeat the advantages of different sizes, since the directions sufficiently discover them.

"CHAP. IV.—*Povey's Watch-Engine examined, and compared with our Machines.*

"That every one may be thoroughly convinced, that my machines are honestly calculated for the real advantage and benefit of my fellow subjects in time of need; and that Povey's, on the contrary, are only made to deceive the eye to draw buyers, and by that means to procure him a present harvest at the detriment of others, I shall here compare them together.

"To act, therefore, with the utmost impartiality, I will here give the description of Mr. Povey's engine in his own words:

"This engine (says he) is made in form of a small vessel, with four thin iron hoops, an iron bale, and the top of the engine goes with a screw, upon which is pasted touch-paper, and a fuzee; and a tin bomb is fixed in the middle of the said screw, filled with gunpowder, and the bomb lies in the centre of the engine in water: so that, by the opening of the screw, all the art of the engine may

may be seen, and the bomb taken out and put in at pleasure. The outside of the engine and bomb is painted to preserve and beautify the work; the hoops are lacquered; and round the middle these words in gold letters—The watch-engine, and a seal, &c.

"Not knowing what he meant by *in form of a small vessel*, nor being able to conceive how the bomb could be fixed in the middle of the screw, and at the same time lie in the centre of the engine; to give a right description, I was obliged to be at the charge of purchasing one, and found it as follows:

"The thing in form of a small vessel is a wooden barrel, consisting of the slightest staves, hooped as he mentions. The bottom of it is very thin, pegged together of two or three pieces. I leave the reader to judge how long this slight cask, hung up as he directs, will be able to bear the weight of the water, without losing its bottom, especially at sea, where the motion of the ship will agitate the contained water to that degree, that in a very little time the barrel will be beaten to pieces. The top of the engine is very solid and strong, nay, the strongest part of the whole, provided with a great heavy wooden screw: a very judicious contrivance, to make that part the strongest which has nothing to bear!

"The business which he calls a bomb is a very slight

slight tin box, made of two small funnels soldered together; so disproportionably small, in respect to the diameter of the barrel, that the gunpowder therein contained is not proportionable to the quantity of water in the barrel, and therefore cannot have force enough to make a sufficient explosion.

"This part of the engine, on which all depends, and which, for that reason, should be the best guarded, secured, and rendered the most durable, is, if not worse, full as bad as the rest.

"It is next to impossible, to be sure, that, in a thing so slight, and soldered in so many places, there should not be a pin-hole left; which is enough to give entrance to the water, and in a small space of time to spoil the gunpowder. But granted it be every where close, yet his box itself is of too little substance; so that the saline nature of the gunpowder within, and the circumambient water without, which in a short time corrupts, will soon rust, corrode, and moulder away this little tin bauble; and the longest time of its duration cannot exceed four or five months. Is it therefore worth while to any body to purchase an engine for fifteen shillings, which, in so short a time, will not be worth so many pence; besides the danger of the disappointment?

"His touch-paper, which he so mightily extols, and without which his watch-engine would utterly forfeit

forfeit its title, is pasted upon the screw, and hangs dangling down on all sides. It is nothing else but paper impregnated with a solution of saltpetre.

"This touch-paper, whilst it is fresh, and in a dry season, and hanging within reach in rooms, bed-chambers, closets, &c. according to Povey's directions, will be continually liable to be set on fire by the least spark of the snuff of a candle, or lighted tobacco-pipe, either through carelessness or foolish curiosity of servants that pass and repass through the place where it hangs. On the contrary, when once it has stood the chance of weather, as all salts attract the moisture of the air, so will the salt of the touch-paper; whence, in a little time, it will become utterly unfit to take fire when it should be useful.

"In short, if this engine shall do any effect at all, it must be used just when it is newly made: but, as people are not sure of having three or four days' warning given them before a fire is to break out in their houses or neighbourhood; so they will be at a very great loss to know when to bespeak any.

"Furthermore, as he has betrayed his ignorance in the disproportion of the gunpowder with the quantity of water in his barrels, which, in a small room, might chance to do for a trial; so he has confirmed the same in making but one

size

size of engines to serve all turns. Thus, in very large rooms they are ineffectual, and in very small ones they will do mischief.

" His iron hoops, like so many swords, will cut through whatever they meet; and his heavy wooden screw, if it hits a man's head, will never fail to knock out his brains; nor will the iron bale be less mischievous: and yet he has the matchless impudence to insinuate, that my machines, which have only small wooden hoops, and no iron-work at all belonging to them, will kill people.

" Besides all these particulars, Povey's whole engine being made up after so slight a manner, if, in case of fire, it be flung into any place, no other effect can be expected, but that the very fall will break it to pieces.

" Thus this famous watch-engine shews itself, in all its parts, a precarious, trifling, and insignificant tool.

" But if people should be so infatuated as to give credit to what Povey says concerning the excellencies of this mock engine, it would then prove a most dangerous weapon.

" He strenuously endeavours to persuade people into self-security and heedlessness; he bids them go to bed, sleep safe and sound, and leave all the care of their houses, goods, and lives, to his mighty watch-engine.

" He

"He tells us, if we will but believe him, that it plays of itself, watches of itself, gives an alarm of itself, and extinguishes of itself.

"May it never be the fate of any house-keeper to run such a hazard!

"When the touch-paper has lost its virtue, which entirely depends upon the weather, a house, and all in it, may be reduced to ashes, before the alarm will give notice; and if the engine has once passed the age of a few months, and the gun-powder, box, and all contained within the engine, is degenerated into mud, be the touch-paper never so good, it will be in vain to expect a call when the watch is dead.

"All that I can find in this pretended watch-engine, worth taking notice of, is, the title in golden letters; which all those who have bought any ought carefully to look upon as a proper caution which the seller, against his intention, has given them—to wit, an engine to excite them to watchfulness, lest depending on that *ignis fatuus* that ruin should watch over them.

"I modestly confess, that my machines can neither boast of painted coats nor lacquered hoops, nor have I thought fit to adorn them with an empty title in golden letters; being very well assured, that if they prove useful to the publick, in answering the end which they are designed for, they will want no better title to set them off.

"And

"And as I have entirely neglected the gaudy shadow, so I have amply made it up in the improvement of the substance. My barrels are made of strong staves, well set together; they want not a necessary number of small innocent wooden hoops to bind them well; the bottom is of one solid piece, in order to hold always tight, and strong enough to bear the weight of all that is contained in the barrels; the top is light and thin, turned hollow in the middle, for the better lodgment of the wild-fire, being a mixture of a certain proportion of charcoal, sulphur, and gunpowder, which the air cannot spoil. Besides, it is guarded against the weather by a tin cover lined, and consequently against sparks of candles and tobacco-pipes, &c. though the machines should hang within reach. However, as nobody can be too cautious, it is advisable to hang them pretty high, and in such places where leather buckets are used to be hung: in so doing, all apprehension, which the foolish curiosity of peeping, not uncommon among servants, might occasion, will be prevented. The barrels are very well lined within, so that none of the liquid can penetrate through, or in process of time rot the wood.

"The powder magazine is not of soldered tin, but either of pewter cast, or else of some other matter able to resist the saline nature of the gunpowder

powder for many years. It is outwardly covered besides, with the same substance the barrels are lined with, to defend it from any injuries it might receive from the liquid compound.

"The whole machine is cased with basket-work, with two handles, the better to be taken hold of at the time they are to be thrown, and that the fall in some measure may be broke by the springiness of the basket, and thereby the untimely bursting of the barrels prevented.

"The reader, I hope, is now sensible of the difference between Povey's painted butterflies, or counterfeit watch-engines, and my plain original machines. And as mine will last more years than his will months, I doubt not in the least, but after the publick is convinced of the important advantages arising from this additional method of extinction, every buyer would, for his own interest, be ready to pay more shillings for mine, than he would offer pence for his, though no patent had been granted me.

"CHAP. V.—*The foul measures Mr. Povey has taken to make himself looked upon as the author of this new Discovery, and to defraud me of the fruits of my labour and expences.*

"I should willingly content myself to conclude; but such has been the insolence of that worthless

worthless man, in his clamorous advertisements, that persons in the country, who are neither acquainted with his nor my character, would be apt to believe me guilty of all the vile things this wicked man has from time to time charged me with, should I take no notice at all of Povey's dishonest and unjustifiable proceedings. To undeceive therefore the ignorant, I shall subjoin a short narrative of his vile conduct in this affair, confirmed by the affidavits made before the honourable Attorney-general; the abstracts of which, see at the end of this account; and then I shall leave to my impartial readers to decide which is the honest well-meaning man, and which the designing knave.

"Wanting a fit place to try my first public experiment in, I had the misfortune to apply to Mr. Povey for a corner in Belsize Park—a person who at first seemed to me a grave honest-countenanced elderly gentleman. My request being granted me without any difficulty, I thought my obligation the greater as his compliance was the readier. I had my house erected accordingly. Mr. Povey was, in the mean time, very inquisitive to know what was to be tried; and being told at last, that it was to extinguish fire by explosion, he said such a thing was impossible to be done. He was till the end of March utterly ignorant of any newspaper wherein an account had been given of the like

like experiment tried abroad; nor was he possessed of the Daily Journal of December 7th, 1722, till Mr. Watkins bought it for him; which was done some days after my experiment had been tried.

"On the 2d of April, 1713, when I made the first public trial of my new method of extinction, I was provided with some machines of a slight make; the magazine was tin, and the top of the barrel had a small wooden screw; but the parts of the machines were perfectly proportionable one to the other, so as to be fit to answer the experiment, though very unfit for duration; and, wanting water to fill my barrels with, the gardener, well instructed by Povey, came to my assistance; when I, not mistrusting any thing, opened a machine, took out the magazine filled with gunpowder, put it in again, and filled the barrel with water in the presence of this gardener; who, after all was over, and the company gone, gathered up the shattered pieces, to try whether he could set them together, so as to serve for a direction to a workman; hereupon acquainting his principal with what he had observed, Povey, with an expression of joy, said, *We will nick the old fellow*, meaning me; *and if he will not give us a good sum of money, we will divulge his secret.* After this he came to my house, admired the invention, offered me a considerable sum of money

for the secret; and, finding I had no inclination to sell it, he begged of me to let him have the refusal, if ever I should be inclinable to dispose of it. But meeting with no encouragement from me, he took the gardener to London, and made him give directions to a turner and a cooper, who between them imitated my slight machine (merely designed for present destruction) in every part, even to the wooden screw; only with this difference, that the screw is three times as thick and heavy, and that there is no proportion, as I have already mentioned, between the bigness of the bomb, as he calls it, and the barrel, on which the force of the explosion entirely depends.

"This done, he built a house of the same dimension with mine, and for above a week had it well soaked with water, both within and without, mornings and nights; then advertised his experiment, and set fire only to the lower room of his wet house; which he accordingly, with great difficulty, extinguished.

"I would fain know, whether this experiment, so candidly managed, was made with a design to serve or to cheat the publick, particularly since nobody was admitted to come into the park without paying half a crown. This sham experiment having succeeded, by the officious assistance of the gardener, he ordered one Mr. Watkins to draw up the following affidavit; the original of which is in my attorney's hands.

"Michael

"Michael Bagnley maketh oath, that he did not give Mr. Charles Povey of Hampstead the first thought of gunpowder and water to extinguish fire; nor that he the said Michael Bagnley never prepared one bomb that was used to extinguish any of the fires in the said Charles Povey's project in the park at Belsize.

"This he endeavoured, first by promises and fair words, to persuade the gardener to swear to, that he might with the better face call himself the inventor; but, finding that the man, though he had been instrumental in doing an unjust action, yet was not quite so much hardened as to draw upon himself the guilt of perjury, he proceeded to threatnings; which likewise not prevailing, he turned the poor fellow, who was not his servant, but his tenant, out of the garden, and made him lose his whole summer's product.

"And although (to use his own words) the dark scene was drawn, and a series of secret and open iniquities were evidently proved upon him to his face, before the honourable Attorney-general, yet this no ways discouraged Povey from his unjust proceedings; but he went on as bold as ever. And after he had changed the wooden hoops of his pirated engine into iron ones, made an addition of an iron bale to it, and painted and lacquered, and set it off with gold letters, he published his letter of the fire-project, and backed the

same with a considerable number of scurrilous advertisements: in all which, he endeavours to blacken my character; abuses the whole honourable assembly that was present at the trying of my experiment, by calling them perjured witnesses; and even arraigneth in some measure the regency for procuring me a patent, in saying, that it was obtained by indirect means.

"However, I have the pleasure of seeing, that at the same time that he takes a great deal of pains to injure me, he only labours to prove himself a most notorious lyar, and wicked man, as appears by what follows.

"In the 8th paragraph of his letter he says, he has been upon the invention of his watch-engine ever since December 1722.

"And in his advertisement of May 22, he says, the sight of that accident (meaning my first experiment, April 2d) gave Mr. Povey the first thought of making use of gunpowder and water to extinguish, &c.

"In the 11th paragraph he discovereth a mighty secret; to wit, that I stole my project out of a paper off of his file; whereas Mr. Banian's affidavit proveth, that Povey knew of no such paper the 31st of March, 1723: how then could he have it on his file? Or if he had it actually, and had thoughts about an experiment of this nature, why did he not try it before I did mine?

or

or why did he suffer me to try my experiment upon his premises? or, if his engine was the product of his own thoughts, how comes it that it is in all its parts of the same shape, figure, and materials with those which I used at the first of my experiments?

"In his letter, column 3, paragraph 1, he transcribes the article from Paris of the Daily Journal, wherein is mentioned, that water and a bomb (which implies gunpowder) was used in the German's experiment: and yet Povey has the confidence to publish the following lines in the Daily Post, June 19.

'No person has produced any foreign or domestick newspaper of any projector, except Mr. Povey, either in France, Spain, Germany, Great Britain, or in any other part of the world, that did declare they made use of gunpowder and water to extinguish fires.'

"He lays, in the first column of his letter, a great stress upon my saying that my materials were chemical and physical. It is plain that gunpowder owes its original to chemistry, and that all natural bodies are physical bodies.

"He farther charges me in one of the advertisements, that I never declared I used water and gunpowder; whilst he gives himself the lye in his letter, column the third, where he quotes a passage out of my petition to the regency, wherein I mention both.

"His

"His chief evidences are his cooper and turner, manifest parties concerned, who, in hopes of future large gains, have thought fit to be his vouchers.

"April the 6th, he makes my machines chargeable, and pretends to be mighty public-spirited, saying, He desires no patent to engross the undertaking to himself.

"And May 22 he says, It is not to be questioned but that the legislature will make an act to invest the sole property of preparing and selling the bombs to the inventor thereof (meaning himself).

"At last (notwithstanding he had proved himself by his own writings what I never offered to call him) he appeared in print with this bravado; to wit, offering me an hundred guineas, if within six days' time I would own myself to be the author of certain paragraphs, and disprove the articles charged upon me and my evidences: but, my attorney not being in town, I thought it beneath me to take any notice of his blustering; which, however, did so far encourage him in his wonted assurance, as to dare me a second time, in the same manner, on the 7th of December; when, to silence him, I found myself obliged, on the 10th of the same month, to advertise, that if he would lodge the hundred guineas in Alderman Child's hands, and deliver the note to me, I then would take

take upon me the said paragraphs, and give lawful security for the performance thereof. Upon which my gentleman, too well knowing the irrecoverable loss of that sum, should he lodge it, has thought fit to sneak off, and has never barked since.

"I could quote a great many more of his shameful lies and contradiction; but I am tired with looking over his scandalous papers. He that has a mind to see his indirect practices of the deepest dye, and his picture drawn by himself in the blackest colours, needs only to read his letter and advertisements.

"My time is too precious to be mis-spent in taking any farther notice of his snarling; I therefore conclude with this warning to Mr. Povey, That he take care not to come within the reach of my patent, nor to vent his spleen against me, by defiling the newspapers with foul reflecting language; else he shall find me to take the shortest and most effectual method the law will allow, to bring him to repentance.

"N. B. Povey's meddling, restless, and turbulent spirit having already forced me to swell the bulk of my account considerably beyond what I at first intended, I choose to omit annexing the abstracts of the affidavits, lest I should trespass too much upon my reader's patience. In the mean time, whosoever wants to be further satisfied

fied of the truth of what is laid to my adversary's charge may see and peruse the affidavits at length at Mr. William Brigges, joyner, over against Salisbury-street in the Strand; where all the different sizes of my machines are sold."

INCREASE OF BUILDINGS.

A pamphlet, printed in 1689, offered "An apology for the builder;" part of which furnishes many particulars relating to that period, now but little known: if an apology was necessary *then*, what is required from the builders *now*?

"It is plain, that the natural increase of mankind is the cause of the increase of the city, and that there are no more houses built every year in it than are necessary for the growth of the inhabitants: as will somewhat appear by the number of apprentices made free, and marriages, every year in the city.

"By the best computation that I can learn, there are no less than ten thousand married every year in the city; which is no great number, considering the number of inhabitants; and if we should allow two weddings in a parish every week one with another (there being a hundred and thirty parishes in all), it will much exceed this proportion. Now, in some parishes there is seldom less than ten in a week; and in Duke's place

and

and St. Katherine's, being privileged places, there is ordinarily twenty or thirty in a week.

"As to the number of apprentices that come every year out of their time, there are not less than nine thousand; which will not be thought too great a number, if we reckon the houses in the city to be about fourscore thousand; and, if the fourth part of this number be allowed for the gentry, or those which live without trades or professions; and the three other parts being sixty thousand, for trades or professions; and one apprentice to every house (though in some houses are three or four apprentices); and that in seven years the whole number come out of their time; then in every year a seventh part of sixty thousand (which is about nine thousand a year) will come out of their time. Now, if Mr. Grant's computation be right, that these houses contain eight persons, one with another, then there ought to be a thousand houses at least built every year for these nine thousand apprentices that come out of their time, and the ten thousand weddings to have room to breed in. And this proportion is only sufficient to lodge them, and not for places to trade in, for nine traders cannot live in one house. Therefore some of their masters, or other traders, must either die, break, or, being grown too rich, give over their trades to make room for some of them to have places to trade in, besides those

those that are furnished with places by the new houses.

"But I find Mr. Grant much mistaken in his account about the number of inhabitants in each house in the outparts; perhaps it was from the rebuilding of the city with houses more capacious and more in number. For, in this last five-and-twenty years, the inhabitants are now a third part more, as appeareth by the bills of mortality; for, in the year 1660 and 1661, there died beween thirteen and fourteen thousand a year, and now there dies betwixt twenty-one and twenty-two thousand a-year. So that there ought to have been built above twenty-six thousand houses in these twenty-five years, which is above a thousand houses a-year to lodge this increase, which are much more than have been built in the outparts; for it appears by Mr. Morgan's map of the city, that there have not been built in this time 8000 houses, that is, not three hundred houses one year with another. For the builders do design to build no more houses every year than what they think there may be occasion for; and would do as other traders, who, when the market is overstocked with their commodities, forbear to make any more till a new occasion requireth them; but, for want of this experience, there has been more money lost by building within these last ten years than ever was before got by it. For, by

building

building more houses than there was present occasion for, and by their houses standing empty, as in Soho, Albemarle ground, and other places, there has not been less lost in rent and interest than 200,000 *l.*; which has so discouraged the builders, that there has been very few buildings erected for these three or four last years, and therefore there needs no act of Parliament to hinder building; and there may be as much reason to complain, that there is too much cloth and stuff made, too much corn sowed, too many sheep or oxen bred, as that there are too many houses built; too many taylors, shoemakers, bakers, and brewers, as there are too many builders.

"*Of the Effects of the Increase of Buildings; and first, as it relateth to the City.*

"New buildings are advantageous to a city, for they raise the rents of the old houses: for, the bigger a town is, the more of value are the houses in it. Houses, of the same conveniency and goodness are of more value in Bristol, Exeter, and Northampton, than in the little villages adjoining.

"Houses in the middle of a town are of more value than those at the out-ends; and when a town happens to be increased by addition of new buildings to the end of a town, the old houses which

were

were then at the end become nearer to the middle of the town, and so increase in value.

" Houses are of more value in Cheapside and Cornhill than they are in Shoreditch, Whitechapel, Old-street, or any of the out-parts; and the rents in some of these out-parts have been within these few years considerably advanced by the addition of new buildings that are beyond them. As for instance, the rents of the houses in Bishopsgate-street, the Minories, &c. are raised from fifteen or sixteen pounds per annum to be now worth thirty, which was by the increase of buildings in Spittle-fields, Shadwell, and Radcliff Highway. And at the other end of the town, those houses in the Strand and Charing-cross are worth now fifty and threescore pounds per annum, which, within this thirty years, were not let for above twenty pounds per annum; which is, by the great addition of buildings since made in St. James's, Leicester-fields, and other adjoining parts. But in those out-parts where no new buildings have been added, as in Old-street, Grub-street, and all that side of the city which does not increase, houses continue much of the same value as they were twenty years ago: and the reason of this is, because houses are of value as they stand in a place of trade, and, by the addition of new buildings, the place becomes to be a greater thoroughfare, by the passing and repassing of the inhabitants to these new buildings.

" 2. They

" 2. They are advantageous to the city because they increase the trade of it: the trade of the city is either wholesale or retail. Now the new buildings of Bloomsbury, Leicester-fields, St. James's, Spittle-fields, &c. are like so many new towns for the wholesale trader to traffick in. The inhabitants of these places do eat, wear clothes, and furnish their houses, and whatsoever commodity they use comes first from the merchants or wholesale trader. For the city is the great mart for goods, from whence all other places must be furnished; so that the new buildings are beneficial to the wholesale trade of the city. And it appears that they are likewise advantageous to the retail-traders, because they can afford to give more rent for their old houses than they did formerly; for otherwise none would believe that the tenants of Bishopsgate-street and the Minories could subsist and pay double the rent for their houses within this thirty years, had they not a better trade in those places than formerly.

" *Of the Effects of new Buildings, as they relate to the Country.*

" New buildings are advantageous to the country—I. By taking off the commodities of the country.

" The materials of these houses, as stones, bricks, lime, iron, lead, timber, &c. are all the commodities

commodities of the country; and whatsoever the inhabitants of these new houses have occasion for, either for food, apparel, or furniture for their houses, are at first the growth of the country; and the bigger the town grows, the greater is the occasion and consumption of these commodities, and so the greater profit to the country.

"II. New buildings provide an habitation and livelihood for the supernumerary and useless inhabitants of the country. The younger sons of the gentry, the children of the yeomen and peasants, are by these means provided with callings, employments, and habitations to exercise them in; which, should they have continued in the country, would have been burdensome and chargeable to their friends for want of employments.

"For there are always inhabitants enough left in the country for the employments of the country: for, if the country wanted people, there would be a want of their commodities, for want of hands to provide them.

"Now there is as much land ploughed, and all sorts of grain sown and reaped every year as there is occasion for, and sometimes more; for the crown in some years hath been at charge to export it. And there is as much wool provided and made into clothes and stuffs as the market can take off, and so for all other commodities of the country.

"Nay,

" Nay, there are more of all the country commodities every year made than formerly; there are more stuffs, more clothes, sent up to Gerard's and Blackwell-hall, as appears by the entries of those halls; and more sheep and oxen sent to London and eaten, than formerly: for there are more people in the city to be fed; so that there must be more hands in the country to provide this greater quantity of commodities: and the country does increase as well as the city, as hath been already observed from the Doomsday Book.

" Therefore if the rents of the lands fall in the country, it must not be ascribed to the new buildings draining their inhabitants, but to some other occasions; which probably may be from the great improvements that are made upon the land in the country, either by draining of fens, improving of land by zanfoin, or other profitable seeds, inclosing of grounds, or disparking and ploughing of parks, by which means the markets are overstocked and furnished at a cheaper rate than those lands can afford, who have had no advantage from improvements; or else the market is removed at a greater distance, and the lands are forced to abate in their price for the carriage; the town perhaps is decayed that they used to furnish, and the trade removed to some other flourishing place at a greater distance, occasioned sometimes by the death or removal of some great clothier or trader,

trader, or some other natural obstruction of the place, as the choaking up of some haven, and the forsaking of the sea, which is the reason of the decay of the Cinque Ports. These, or some other occasions, may make some particular men's farms fall in value; but there is never a county in England where the land of the whole county doth not produce a third part more in value than it did within one hundred years; and whosoever will compare these present rents with what they were then, will find them generally increased. Therefore the new buildings of this city cannot prejudice the country, but are greatly advantageous to it.

"*Of the Effects of the new Buildings, as they relate to the Government.*

"I. New buildings are advantageous to the king and government. They are instrumental to the preserving and increasing of the number of the subjects; and numbers of subjects is the strength of a prince: for houses are hives for the people to breed and swarm in, without which they cannot increase; and unless they are provided for them from time to time, in proportion to their increase, they would be forced to go into the plantations and other countries for habitations, and so many times become the subjects of other princes; but at the best, the country loseth the profit of feeding

ing them; for they that live in a city are unskilful and unfit for a country life; and this is the reason why so many Scotch citizens are wandering pedlars; and that every town in Europe hath a Scotchman for an inhabitant.

"And that this will be the effects will appear plainly by examining the growth of the city of London since the buildings have flourished, with its condition when the buildings were prohibited; and we cannot make a better discovery of it than by the bills of mortality, for it is reasonable among such a number of mankind, such a number should die; and whether it be in such a proportion as one in three-and-thirty, as Mr. Grant and Sir William Pettit have observed, is not so material to this purpose; but it is a certain demonstration, that if the burials have increased, the number of citizens hath increased, though the proportion may be uncertain.

"Now, to begin the observation from the first bills that were printed, which was in the year 1606, for the space of six and seven-and-twenty years, we shall find very little increase in the city; for in 1606 and 1607, there died between six and seven thousand a year; and, in the years 1632 and 1633, there died betwixt eight and nine thousand: now the reason of this was, the people of England were a little before that time under the same mistake, as they are generally now, and

cried out against the builders, that the city would grow too big; and therefore, in the 38th of Queen Elizabeth, they made a law to prohibit buildings in the city of London; which, though it was but a probationary act, to continue only to the next sessions of Parliament (which was but a short time), yet its effects were long; for it frighted the builders, and obstructed the growth of the city; and none built for thirty years after, all King James his reign, without his Majesty's license; but for want of houses the increase of the people went into other parts of the world; for within this space of time were those great plantations of New England, Virginia, Maryland, and Bermudas began; and that this want of houses was the occasion is plain; for they could not build in the country, because of the law against cottages. For people may get children and so increase, that had not four acres of ground to build on.

"But the people of England at last were convinced of this popular error, and petitioned in Parliament his Majesty King Charles the martyr, that he would take his restraint from the builders; and if the next period of seven-and-twenty years be examined, wherein there was a greater liberty of building, though in this space there was a great rebellion and civil wars, which is a great allay to the growth of the people, yet there appeareth a much greater increase of the city of London; for

for in the years 1656 and 1657 the burials were twelve and thirteen thousand.

"But the flourishing condition of the city of London raised a new clamour against the builders, and Oliver the usurper, glad of any pretence to raise a tax, made use of this clamour, and laid it upon the new foundations; but, though it was an heavy and unjust tax upon the builders, yet he got little by it, for the whole sum collected was but twenty thousand pounds clear of all charges, as appears by the records of the exchequer; however, it had the same ill effects to stop the builders and growth of the city; for the people, for want of houses in that time, began that great and flourishing plantation of Jamaica.

"Now, if the last period since King Charles's restoration be examined, wherein the builders have had the greatest liberty, it will appear that the inhabitants of the city have increased more than in both of the former periods, for the yearly bills of mortality are now betwixt two and three-and-twenty thousands, so that the city is since increased one-third, and as much as in sixty years before.

"This is sufficient to shew, that a nation cannot increase without the metropolis be enlarged, and how dangerous a consequence it may be to obstruct its growth, and discourage the builders. It is to banish the people, and confine the nation

to

to an infant-estate, while the neighbouring nations grow to the full strength of manhood, and thereby to render it an easy conquest to its enemies.

"For the metropolis is the heart of a nation, through which the trade and commodities of it circulate, like the blood through the heart, which, by its motion, giveth life and growth to the rest of the body; and if that declines, or be obstructed in its growth, the whole body falls into consumption; and it is the only symptom to know the health and thriving of a country by the enlarging of its metropolis; for the chief city of every nation in the world that flourisheth doth increase.

"And if those gentlemen that fancy the city to be the head of the nation would but fancy it like the heart, they would never be afraid of its growing too big.

"2. It is the interest of the government to encourage the builders; not only because they preserve and increase the subjects, but they provide an employ for them, by which they are fed, and get their livelihood.

"There are three great ways that the people in all governments are employed in—in providing food, clothes, and houses. Now those ways are most serviceable to the government that employ most of the people: those that are employed in feeding of them are the fewest in number; for ten men may provide food enough for a thousand

but

but to clothe and build houses for them requireth many hands. And there is that peculiar advantage that ought to be ascribed to the builder, that he provideth the place of birth for all the other arts, as well as for man. The cloth cannot be made without houses to work it in. Now, besides the vast numbers of people that are employed in digging and making the materials, the bricks, stone, iron, lead, &c. all those trades that belong to the furnishing of an house have their sole dependencies on the builders, as the upholsterers, chair-makers, &c.

" But that which is the greatest advantage, they do not only provide a livelihood to those that belong to the building and furnishing of houses, but for the tenants of those new houses: for the people being collected and living together in one street, they serve and trade one with another: for trade is nothing else but an exchange of one man's labour for another; as for instance, supposing an hundred men which lived at great distance before, some in Cornwall, others in Yorkshire, and so dispersed over all the countries in England, live together in one street; one is a baker, the other a brewer, a shoemaker, taylor, &c. and so in one trade or other the whole hundred are employed: the baker gets his living by making bread for the other ninety; and so do all the rest of them; which, while they were dispersed at distances,

were

were useless, and could not serve one another, and were ready to starve for want of a livelihood.

"3. But they get not only a livelihood but grow rich. There ariseth an emulation among them to outlive and outvie one another in arts. This forced them to be industrious, and by industry they grow rich.

"4. The increasing of buildings, and enlarging of towns, preserveth the peace of a nation, by rendering the people more easily governed. First, it is the builder's interest, of all sorts of men, to preserve peace. Every man that buildeth an house gives security to the government for his good behaviour: for war is the builder's ruin. The countryman may expect to enjoy his land again, though for a time it be laid waste; the merchant may hide his goods or remove them; but when the town is besieged, the houses are fired, the place made desolate, and nothing is left to the builder but ruins, the sad remembrance of his condition.

"Besides, all cities are more inclined to peace than the country; the citizen's estates are in trade and in goods; many of which grow useless in war, and lye in other people's hands, and their debtors run away, and take sanctuary under the sword; and citizens, being usually rich, cannot endure the hardship of war. Next, great cities are more easily governed, because they are under the

the eye of the prince, as generally the metropolis is; or else under some governor, who, by his rewards from the crown, is engaged to be very watchful in preserving the peace; so that if they should grow factious, they are more easily corrected. Thus the Ottoman power governs his conquest by destroying villages and lesser towns, and driving the people into capital cities, which by the presence of some Basha are governed. Thus the King of France, in his late conquest in Flanders and Alsatia, burnt some hundreds of villages; but Luxembourg, Strasbourg, and other great towns, are preserved. And the bigger the city, the more advantageous to the government; for from thence they are on a sudden the better supplied with men and ammunition, to suppress any rebellion, or oppose a foreign enemy.

"Lastly, new buildings increase their Majesties revenues, by the customs paid for the materials to build and furnish the houses. Besides they being the cause of the increase of the city, all the increase of the revenues from the excise and customs (since the cities increase) must be ascribed to them; which are a fourth part more than they were five-and-twenty years ago. And the excise is not only increased in the city, but it is so in the country; which must not be ascribed solely to the good management, but chiefly to the natural increase of the people. For if there be a third

part

part more people in the city than there were five-and-twenty years ago, there must be a proportionable increase in the country to provide food and clothes for them.

"To conclude, It was upon these considerations, that by the building and enlarging of a city the people are made great, rich, and easily governed; that those ancient and famous governments, Thebes, Athens, Sparta, Carthage, and Rome, began their dominions, and enlarged them with their cities; and of late the states of Holland have followed these examples.

"The citizens of Amsterdam have thrice flung down their walls to enlarge it; so that from a little fisher-town, within less than two hundred years, it is become the third or fourth city of Europe; and the rest of their cities have followed their pattern, and made grafts and streets at the charge of the government; endeavouring to outvie one another by giving privileges to encourage the builders and inhabitants. And these States have found the effects of it; for by this means they have changed their style from the poor distressed States (as they wrote to Queen Elizabeth) to the high and mighty States of the United Provinces.

"And if the city of London hath made such a progress within this five-and-twenty years, as to have grown one-third bigger, and become already the metropolis of Europe, notwithstanding the popular

popular error the nation have been infected with, and the ill censures and discouragements the builders have met with, had they been for this last hundred years encouraged by the government, the city of London might probably have easily grown three times bigger than now it is.

"And if we consider what the natural effects of so great a city must have been; to be furnished with such large provisions for war suitable to its greatness; such a vast number of ships; being situate on an island and navigable river; filled with innumerable inhabitants, of such natural courage as the English are; and to be so easily transported on a sudden, with all things necessary for war,—it would, long before this time, have been a terror to all Europe; and now would have had the opportunity, with much ease, to give a check to the growth of France, might be made the metropolis of the world, and cause England's monarch to be acknowledged lord of all the navigable cities and sea-port towns in the world; might make an universal monarchy over the seas: an empire no less glorious, and of much more profit, than of the land; and of larger extent than either Cæsar's or Alexander's."

THE END OF PART I.

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